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A PROPOS DES FRESQUES DE HRASTOVLJE - NOTES SUR LE PROGRAMME ICONOGRAPHIQUE

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SYNTHÈSE

Sans pouvoir exactement parler de syncrétisme religieux ou culturel, l'état, au moins, des figurations articulées dans les programmes des différentes églises d'Istrie citées dans cet article, révèle, de façon frappante, des partages d'influences occidentales et orientales et des confluences de sources iconographiques (des mélanges de traditions) qui font toute l'originalité des églises de la région, et peut-être même de sa théologie. De toute évidence, (comme je pense l'avoir montré à propos des dites "natures mortes" de Hrastovlje), la dévotion eucharistique y est de première importance; l'influence hellénistique (et byzantine) n'y est pas sensible dans le style mais dans la transmission de quelques thèmes.

Mots clef: Istrie, programme iconographique, rituel, réalisme/stéréotype, syncrétisme, eucharistie, orthodoxie, rois mages, saint Georges

A PROPOSITO DEGLI AFFRESCHI DI CRISTOGLIE – NOTIZIE SUL PROGRAMMA ICONOGRAFICO

SINTESI

Senza dover in particolare parlare del sincretismo religioso di culto, lo stato, almeno delle figurazioni articolate, nei programmi delle diverse chiese dell'Istria citate in questo contributo, rivela in un modo sorprendente il retaggio delle influenze occidentali e orientali e delle confluenze delle origini iconografiche (un misto di tradizioni) che rappresentano l'originalità delle chiese di questa regione e probabilmente pure una sua teologia. Sembra evidente, come si cercherà di dimostrare a proposito delle cosiddette "nature morte" di Cristoglie, che la devozione eucaristica sia estremamente importante. L'influenza ellenista e bizantina non si fa sentire nello stile ma nella trasmissione di alcuni temi.

Parole chiave: Istria, programma iconografico, rituali, realismo/stereotipi, sincretismo, eucaristia, ortodossia, re magi, san Giorgio

Ces quelques lignes sont une ébauche, sans plan arrêté, d'une étude à venir sur le programme iconographique de quelques églises d'Istrie, évidemment rapproché du programme développé dans les fresques de l'église de Hrastovlje. Les notes prises sur place, les travaux consultés (essentiellement Janez Höfler sur Hrastovlje, B. Fučić sur Beram et les traits de style des frères von Kastov, l'indispensable synthèse de Darko Darovec sur l'histoire de l'Istrie), m'ont convaincu de la richesse, de l'originalité et de la complexité des peintures murales des églises visitées.

Le charme extraordinaire de l'église de Hrastovlje est celui d'un monde clos, offrant et conservant une histoire et des motifs de piété, un programme d'enseignement et d'édification religieuse. Histoire du monde, des premiers hommes, du Christ et de la Vierge, figures de saints intercesseurs, instruments du Salut et de la Rédemption, rappel de la condition humaine. Tel est en bref le programme rappelé sur les murs de cette charmante église.

Une des curiosité des peintures est présentée par la suite de médaillons peints sur la voûte des deux nefs latérales, figurant les travaux caractéristiques des mois de l'année. M. Janez Höfler a montré la parenté de ces ornements avec les gravures du Calendrier D'Augsbourg; on peut étendre cette comparaison aux gravures populaires très en vogue dans les Calendriers des Bergers et, plus encore, à la tradition romane des calendriers des cathédrales, sculptés en médaillons ou en chapiteaux durant les XIIe et XIIIe siècles; pour des raisons d'économie propres au type de construction de l'église, ces médaillons peints occupent la place traditionnellement dévolue aux médaillons sculptés en clefs de voûte. Cette intégration du temps humain dans le temps sacré est sans doute l'un des charmes de Hrastovlje; la lecture de ce calendrier fait un rappel assez clair du beau panneau de la voûte de la nef principale consacré au travaux d'Adam et Eve, il trouve un écho dans le registre inférieur du voyage des rois mages présentant des scènes de chasse, un écho plus dramatique dans le déroulement de la Danse des morts. Il ne faudrait pas conclure, comme on a eu tendance à le faire, que de telles scènes sont des témoignages de la vie paysanne: elles correspondent à des modèles fixes, assez stéréotypés, répandus pendant quelques siècles en Europe; ces images insèrent simplement le temps des hommes dans le temps liturgique. Il en va de même des deux "natures mortes" peintes sur les sections de voûtes formant pilastres qui encadrent l'autel de la trinité: la solennité de cet emplacement exclut bien évidemment tout tableau naturaliste ou réaliste; la présentation d'objets ou d'instruments d'usage quotidien ne peut avoir de sens que par rapport à la liturgie.

L'abondance des peintures, la vivacité des couleurs, la variété des sujets traités peuvent égarer un moment le visiteur. Voilà, par exemple, un façon inhabituelle de

peindre à fresques des églises de rite latin. La richesse ornementale ne peut être comparée qu'à celle des fresques byzantines ne laissant pas subsister de vide sur les murs. Cette comparaison toute extérieure aux sujets et au style même, pose néanmoins un problème dans le développement des programmes iconographiques de Hrastovlje et des églises (ou chapelles) d'Istrie contemporaines (fin XV^e).

Comparé aux églises de Zanigrad (St Stephan), de Beram (Ste Marie), de Dragus (St Roch), Hrastovlje présente, de loin, le programme le plus complet. J'évoquerai néanmoins les parties communes dans l'iconographie de ces différentes "chapelles".

L'extrême variété de sujets, de types de composition, de tons et même de styles, surtout caractéristique des fresques de Hrastovlje, remplit manifestement une fonction: maintenir l'attention et soutenir l'intérêt des fidèles. Le dispositif n'est désordonné ou touffu qu'à première vue: le passage des figures en mouvement aux portraits est très subtilement ménagé, grâce notamment à la très longue fresque du voyage des mages (qui part, dès l'entrée, du palais d'Hérode, s'achève par une scène d'adoration de l'enfant Dieu présenté par la Vierge, et aboutit, autour de l'autel mis sous la dédicace de ces saints pèlerins, aux portraits des trois rois entourés des saints Côme et Damien – tous portent des flacons de parfums, d'onguents et des pharmacopées); de la même façon le lent mouvement de la passion du Christ sur le mur opposé s'achève, près de l'autel de la Vierge, par un tableau de l'ascension, précédé de deux cadres très endommagés, où l'on peut encore deviner, après la résurrection, une "véronique" (un portrait), et un Noli me tangere. Cette histoire de la Passion est soulignée en sens inverse (de l'autel vers la sortie) par la longue procession de la Danse macabre. L'articulation en sens inverse des deux registres narratifs est très clairement lisible dans son sens mystique. La procession des mages est de même orientée comme la vie du Christ, comme l'histoire d'Adam et Eve. Il n'est sans doute pas à exclure que ces orientations de lecture des panneaux narratifs ou historiés (présents de façon comparable dans toutes les chapelles citées ici) ne témoignent d'une forme rituelle particulière, en tout cas conservatrice d'une forme liturgique (encore proche *du De ecclesiasticis officiis*, d'Amalaire de Metz), resté en faveur surtout dans l'Eglise orthodoxe, pour lequel la messe est articulée comme un mémorial de la vie et de la passion du Christ.

Plusieurs éléments montrent un état de conservation des figurations et des formes rituelles (vraisemblablement paléoslaves) qui donne tout à fait l'idée d'une religion d'Istrie offrant tous les caractères d'un syncrétisme latin-byzantin. Une telle déduction est sans doute hâtive, mais à la seule considération des programmes iconographiques, très savamment mis au point dans ces églises, on ne peut que constater l'emploi tardif de plusieurs formules iconographiques (nous sommes

Fig. 1: Pilier de gauche des "natures mortes" (photo: D. Podgornik).
Sl. 1: Levi steber s "tihožitjem" (foto: D. Podgornik).

dans tous les cas cités à la fin du Quattrocento) abandonnées par l'Eglise latine dès le XII et XIIIe siècles et maintenues seulement dans l'iconographie byzantine. Ceci est surtout évident par rapport à l'Europe du Nord, le remploi de certaines formules en Italie est peu significatif: le prolongement de thèmes comme ceux du voyage des mages ou de saint Georges, depuis Duccio jusqu'à Pisanello, est très lié à une série de rélaboration de la "manière grecque" et de thèmes exposés par les monuments; l'Italie s'est beaucoup moins départie de la présence byzantine que le reste de l'Europe.

L'autel des rois mages est certainement un reste, ou une adaptation importante d'un tel style de présentation des figures. Les douze apôtres occupant l'abside qui abrite l'autel principal peuvent être vus comme une survivance d'un emploi roman, alors uniquement conservé dans l'art byzantin. L'aspect "rustique" de ces apôtres (qui semblent des portraits de jeunes paysannes) ne doit pas faire illusion de réalisme: c'est un cas typique d'isoképhalie à la manière orthodoxe, chaque

apôtre n'est distingué (comme dans le *Manuel du peintre* du mont Athos), que par un attribut caractéristique de sa mission ou de son martyre.

Il faudrait réserver un développement à part aux deux fameuses "natures mortes" encadrant l'autel principal, sur la base de deux sections de voûte formant pilastres et séparant cet autel de la Trinité de celui des mages, à gauche, et de celui de la Vierge à droite. Ces natures mortes, interprétées comme telles, offriraient un cas unique dans toute l'iconographie chrétienne; et, il faut bien en convenir, une espèce d'absurdité dans un programme aussi cohérent: les "décorations" ne sont jamais que des variations de rinceaux, et dans le cas de nos églises, des jeux de cadres agençant des contrastes de couleurs ou des effets de relief par le moyen de parties de figures sortant des cadres. De tels "accidents" de figures sont très soigneusement employés, surtout à Beram, dans l'étonnante scène de l'arrestation du Christ.

Nos dites "natures mortes" occupent une place symbolique très importante: entre l'autel des rois mages

(les saints pèlerins composent, avec Côme et Damien, à la fois un groupe de donateurs et de médecins) et l'autel consacré à la Vierge (surmonté d'une partie de l'Annonciation: la Vierge assise sur un trône, selon la formule grecque et byzantine, exploitée également avec la formule syrienne qui la représente debout, dans l'art carolingien et roman, reçoit l'annonce de sa conception du corps du Christ).

Nous avons ici toute une déclinaison, encadrant l'autel, couvert sur sa voûte par une représentation de la Trinité (Dieu le père, assis en gloire, tient son fils en croix) et une déclinaison progressive du corps du Christ, depuis sa figure trinitaire, l'annonce de son incarnation, jusqu'à l'emplacement de perpétuation de son sacrement ou de commémoration de son sacrifice (l'autel); les extrémités des deux murs aboutissant aux autels encadrent encore l'emplacement sacré du tombeau symbolique (l'autel) par l'image de l'adoration du Christ enfant par les mages, à gauche, et celle de la résurrection et de l'ascension, à droite (à laquelle étaient

jointes les figures mystique du *Noli me tangere*, forme du corps mystique, et de la Véronique, portrait imprimé au cours de la Passion).

Il est clair que cette déclinaison du corps du Christ aboutit à une représentation de la matérialité du sacrement, c'est-à-dire du pain et du vin qui sont convertis, transsubstantiés, changés *realiter*, en le corps et le sang du Seigneur.

Ceci me semble très significatif et sans doute révélateur des formes rituelles conservées en Istrie et en haute Carniole. Les emplacements réservés à la représentation de deux fragments de pain, posés sur une patène présentée sur une nappe et flanquée d'un flacon, à gauche, puis d'un pain brut et d'une cruche à droite, sont mis sous le patronage, à gauche, de saint Laurent (martyrisé pour n'avoir pas voulu livrer les trésors de son église) et de saint Etienne, à droite, premier martyr, lapidé par les Juifs (présenté traditionnellement, avec sur son crâne une pierre de sa lapidation représentée sous forme de pain).

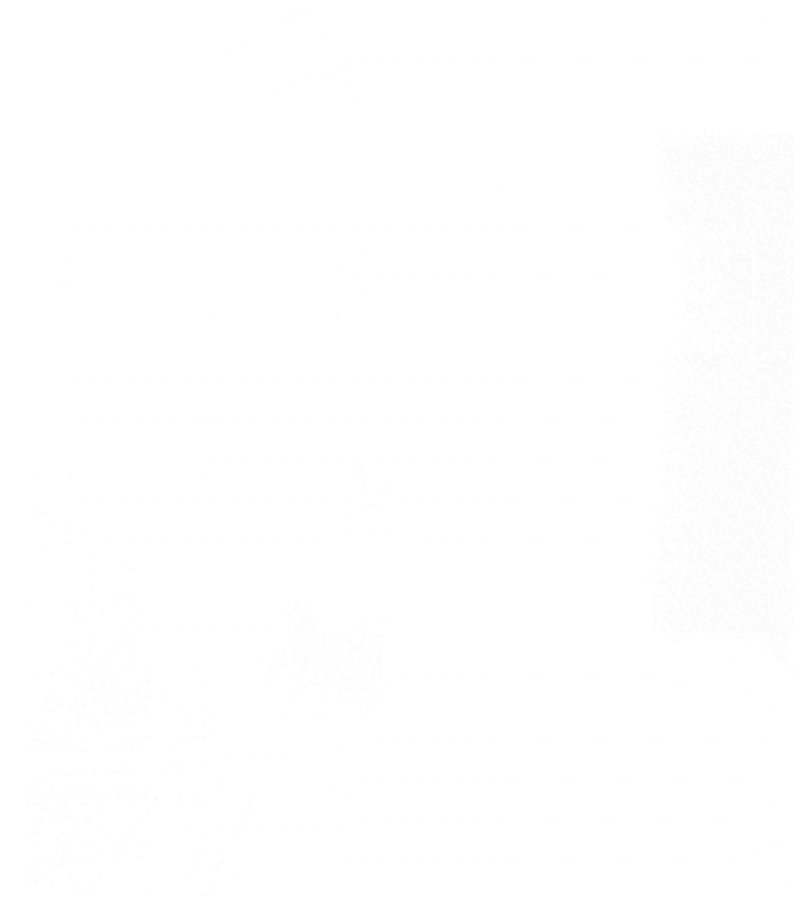


Fig. 2: Pilier de droite des "natures mortes" (photo: D. Podgornik).

Sl. 2: Desni steber s "tihožitjem" (foto: D. Podgornik).

Fig. 3: Autel des Rois Mages (photo: D. Podgornik).
Sl. 3: Oltar s Tremi kralji (foto: D. Podgornik).

Ce "détail" achève de façon significative l'ensemble, extrêmement cohérent, du programme iconographique de cette église; il pose, en outre, un problème d'interprétation.

On sait que la forme de la consécration eucharistique a connu une évolution par paliers depuis le IX^e siècle (depuis le traité de Paschase Radbert, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, qui constitue la première étape dans la formulation du dogme de la présence réelle), qu'elle a été une des cause du schisme d'Orient (c'est-à-dire de la séparation des Eglises grecque et latine); l'évolution dogmatique se suit jusqu'au concile de Latran IV (1215) et à la rédaction de la *tertia pars* (traité du sacrement) de la *Somme* de saint Thomas d'Aquin (avant 1275); recommandation, parfois autoritaire, est faite aux Latins de consacrer du pain azyme, et non du pain levé selon la pratique des Byzantins. Le Concile de Florence (en 1439) revient, sans effets sensibles, sur cette interdiction. D'autre part la tradition ancienne de consacrer à l'autel une partie du pain offert par les

fidèles (le reste non consacré constituant le pain béni distribué hors de l'espace sacré, surtout après la messe, notamment à ceux qui n'ont pas la capacité de communier, comme les enfants que ce premier pain initie à la pratique du sacrement), cette tradition est très tôt abandonnée par l'Eglise latine qui confie la fabrication des hosties à de véritables laboratoires situés dans les monastères d'hommes puis de femmes (description très détaillée dans Guillaume de Hirsau, *Constitutiones Hiraugienses, liber De Sacramentis*, vers 1071): l'argument y est clairement démontré: le pain qui deviendra le corps du Christ est déjà "sacré", il ne peut être un pain d'usage domestique.

La représentation des offrandes de pain et de vin et celle des espèces consacrées pose évidemment un problème sur l'histoire ou les traditions rituelles dans la région; signe, sans doute, d'une conservation de formes rituelles procédant encore, à la fin du quattrocento, des anciens sacramentaires; indice, peut-être, d'une autonomie des rituels régionaux, encore sous l'influence

du patriarcat d'Aquilée, malgré une reprise en main de l'Eglise de la région sous le pontificat de Pie II. On ne peut que s'interroger sur l'allure générale des programmes iconographiques des églises régionales, minutieux, cohérents (on sait que les peintres n'avaient aucune liberté d'interprétation des sujets traités) et sur ce qui apparaît d'un partage d'influence entre des thèmes désormais conservés uniquement par la tradition byzantine, le mélange de types thématiques d'origine hellénistiques et syriennes (comme le voyage des rois mages), les représentations typiquement hellénistiques de l'Annonciation (la vierge assise sur un trône) cependant acclimatée dans le gothique rhénan et conservée dans l'art byzantin; la présence dans toutes les églises citées d'un panneau présentant le portrait du Christ sur la Véronique (concession cultuelle accordée par Rome en 1216 et objet, vers le milieu du Quattrocento, de véritables représentations publiques, au fond théâtrales, de dévoilement ou d'apparition du visage du Sauveur); les témoignages de ce culte d'adoration

montrent un lien explicite (surtout dans la petite chapelle Saint Roch de Dragus) avec les représentations eucharistiques. Forme de compromis, il ne s'agit pas d'une icône, c'est-à-dire d'un équivalent du mandylion byzantin dérivant du portrait du Christ donné au roi Abgar; il s'agit pourtant d'une image achiropiite dont l'origine apocryphe avait été largement et minutieusement commentée dans les libri carolini, à la suite du Concile de Francfort en 794 ("il n'existe selon les Evangiles qu'une seule Véronique, c'est Bérénikè, la femme hémorroïsse, guérie de son flot de sang par l'attouchement du manteau du Christ: il n'est nulle part fait mention d'un portrait"); cette condamnation de l'image de la part des Carolingiens répondant à Nicée II a été diversement tournée: d'abord par l'envoi fait à Rome par l'empereur de Byzance d'une "Véronique", intégrée comme objet pieux mais non cultuel puis par l'interpolation assez tardive de la scène de la Véronique dans les chemins de croix. Nous verrons que ces "portraits sur toile", dans les deux exemplaires bien

Fig. 4: Voyage des Mages - adoration des Mages (photo: D. Podgornik).
Sl. 4: Pohod in poklon Treh kraljev (foto: D. Podgornik).

Fig. 5: Dieu dans la mandorle (voûte: 1er tableau de la création du monde) (photo: D. Podgornik).
Sl. 5: Bog v mandorli (obok: prva slika o stvarjenju sveta) (foto: D. Podgornik).

conservés de Beram et de Dragus sont de facture similaire et répondent à modèle tardivement fixée dans la littérature hellénistique.

L'insertion des représentations d'offrandes et d'espèces consacrées qui leur font pendant, dans le programme iconographique de Hrastovlje, pose au moins deux questions. Tout d'abord celle de la persistance d'une consécration eucharistique du pain levé (dont l'usage est essentiellement byzantin) et celle encore d'une communion sous les deux espèces: le flacon posé à côté de la patène est typiquement une bouteille eucharistique, l'une des formes, avec la cuillère et le bol, de communion au sang du Christ, dont il existe des figurations même tardives dans l'iconographie orthodoxe (Communion des apôtres, partie de droite, Moscou fin XVI^e, icône de la collection Abou Adul, Skira-Flammarion, 1993, n° 104). On a vu que ces deux représentations d'offrandes et d'espèces consacrées s'inséraient au niveau inférieur d'un paradigme complexe et parfaitement articulé de l'Incarnation, de sa mission

évoquée dans l'image de la Trinité, de son annonce, de sa réalisation dans la nativité et de son achèvement dans la vie du Christ, sa Passion (le Christ y est successivement prêtre et hostie), sa résurrection et son ascension. Etant donné la configuration de l'église, long rectangle dépourvu de niche, l'emplacement de cette représentation du dépôt d'offrande correspondrait techniquement ou liturgiquement au "proskomidion" byzantin (niche située à gauche du sanctuaire, réservée au dépôt et à la préparation des offrandes); il n'est pas impossible que le solennel autel des mages (c'est-à-dire des premiers porteurs d'offrandes au Christ incarné) n'ait joué ce rôle. On se rappelle qu'un très intéressant "proskomidion" est placé, dans l'église de la Vierge de Studenica dans une niche gauche de l'exo narthex: cet emplacement dévolu aux offrandes est signalé par une représentation eucharistique montrant l'enfant Jésus langé, couché dans un large calice qui lui sert de berceau. On sait l'enjeu d'une telle représentation chez les orthodoxes slaves et, généralement, dans la région



Fig. 6 Arrestation du Christ (l'oreille coupée) (photo: P. Trinajstić - Ž. Luković).

Sl. 6: Judežev poljub (odrezano uho) (foto: P. Trinajstić - Ž. Luković).

au sens large et l'importance d'une interprétation pertinente de ces figures avec l'ensemble du programme des peintures: non seulement argumenter sur le dogme de la présence réelle dont la promotion dogmatique appartient majoritairement à la théologie de l'Eglise latine, mais aussi rappeler la réalité de l'Incarnation, grand souci orthodoxe, dont les images achiropiïtes ont été utilisées comme "preuves" et dont le dogme a été fortement ébranlé, à la fin du moyen âge par une résurgence d'arianisme.

On conviendra, je l'espère, qu'il n'existe aucune raison à l'introduction d'un détail naturaliste, telles des natures mortes (dont la représentation eut été pour le moins sacrilège) à un emplacement aussi sacré. Sans pouvoir exactement parler de syncrétisme religieux ou cultuel, l'état au moins des figurations articulées dans les programmes des différentes églises citées révèle, de façon frappante, des partages d'influences occidentales et orientales et des confluences de sources icono-

graphiques (des mélanges de traditions) qui font toute l'originalité des églises de la région, et peut-être même de sa théologie. De toute évidence, la dévotion eucharistique y est de première importance, l'influence hellénistique (et byzantine) n'y est pas sensible dans le style mais dans la transmission de quelques thèmes.

Mais il y a davantage; je ne puis cependant, dans le cadre de cet article, qu'évoquer quelques points qu'il faudrait développer ultérieurement, en étendant notamment la comparaison des programmes iconographiques à un grand nombre d'églises d'Istrie.

La Véronique (ou la Sainte Face) tout à l'heure évoquée et dont le percement d'une fenêtre ne laisse plus que deviner l'emplacement et le haut du linge à Hrastovlje, est bien lisible dans les églises de Beram et dans la chapelle Saint Roch de Dragus. Son emplacement est dans tous les cas hautement symbolique: à Beram, sur la face inférieure du linteau du petit porche; formant un dais sous lequel le fidèle passe en pénétrant



Fig. 7 Voyage de Rois Mages (photo: N. Zajc).
Sl. 7: Pohod Treh kraljev (foto: N. Zajc).

dans l'église. Celle de Draguč, placée sur la paroi de gauche, après le voyage et l'adoration des mages (et correspondant au schéma général de la succession des scènes animées suivies de portraits près de l'autel) est d'un intérêt particulier: ce panneau encadré est constitué de trois registres composant là encore, avec une économie de place dans cette minuscule chapelle, un paradigme eucharistique: le visage du Christ sur le linge surmonte un calice surmonté d'une hostie portant le filigrane de la crucifixion: le Christ en croix entouré de la Vierge et de saint Jean; le registre inférieur présente un plat creux rempli de poissons et encadré par deux flacons de verre, dont l'un permet de deviner le niveau du liquide: il s'agit très probablement des burettes contenant l'eau et le vin mêlés au cours du sacrifice de l'autel. Les poissons renvoient sans équivoque (en dehors de l'allusion à leur multiplication avec celle des pains après le Sermon sur la montagne, forme première d'une annonce de l'eucharistie) à un emploi paléochrétien du poisson, sous son nom grec "ichthus", monogramme désignant le Christ: *Iésous Christos Théou Uios Sauter* (Jésus Christ Fils de Dieu, Sauveur). Incontestablement, le portrait du Christ est objet d'adoration en complément de la vénération et de la dévotion pour le sacrement de son corps, et dont la théologie latine, en particulier, a toujours pris soin de signaler que l'hostie ne constituait pas un portrait. Figure de compromis, mais plutôt avec les exigences d'une piété populaire qu'avec les deux traditions latine et byzantine, cette figure du Christ est exécutée selon des prescriptions assez tardives. Les

Pères, Irénée, Origène dans sa réfutation de Celse, Clément d'Alexandrie répètent à l'envi la formule "homo indecorus et passibilis" touchant la figure du Christ. Cyrille d'Alexandrie de même: la beauté du Christ doit s'entendre de la beauté de son âme; Tertullien lui attribue le même caractère "vultus et aspectu ingloriosus" et comment, ajoute-t-il, (*De carne Christi*) lui aurait-on craché au visage si son aspect avait été imposant? Le portrait imaginé par Nicéphore Xanthopoulos (1256-1335) dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* a fait fortune: il propose un portrait vivant, aux traits composites (reprenant une partie de la typification byzantine), des couleurs, une expression. A vrai dire le portrait figé des Byzantins trouve ici un contrepoint, et ce portrait un essor particulier au moment d'une diffusion de la Vénérabilité en Europe latine. Je cite cette étonnante page de Nicéphore (*Histoire ecclésiastique*, livre II, chap. XLIII): "il était très beau de visage et sa hauteur était de sept sphitames (sept pieds); ses cheveux tiraient sur le blond, n'étant pas fort épais, mais un peu frisés ou crépus; ses sourcils étaient noirs et ne formaient pas exactement le demi-cercle. Il avait les yeux grands, vifs et tirant sur le jaune; le nez long, la barbe noire et assez courte; mais il portait les cheveux longs; car le ciseau ne passa jamais sur sa tête, et nulle main d'homme ne la toucha, sinon celle de la Vierge sa mère, quand il était encore enfant (...) son teint était à peu près de la couleur du froment; son visage ni rond ni en pointe: mais il était, comme celui de sa mère, un peu allongé et assez vermeil".

Deux éléments font défaut dans l'examen (pour



Fig. 8: L'eucharistie - la Sainte Face "Christus", le calice surmonté de l'hostie, plat rempli de poissons "Ichtus" entouré de deux bouteilles (burettes) (photo: N. Zajc).

Sl. 8: Evharistija - sv. Obličje, kupa s hostijo, krožnik z ribami in steklenici (foto: N. Zajc).

l'instant très rapide) de ces programmes: les cas de portraits de saints, objets d'une vénération comme autorités théologiques (tels les saints Jérôme, Augustin, Grégoire le grand; et les prophètes); les saintes Catherine, Barbe et Apolline; enfin les deux saints qui

sont des figures des maladies alors endémiques et dont l'intercession est censée prémunir contre la peste, saints Roch et Sébastien. L'usage, en quelque sorte apotropaïque, de la figure de Sébastien est des plus curieuse; enregistrée par la *Légende dorée*, elle semble procéder

d'un fonds mythique extrêmement ancien: au début de l'Illiade, les flèches tirés par Phoebos Apollon répandent la peste parmi les Achéens, décimant les hommes et les troupeaux. Cette figure, et surtout son usage, fait un mixte extraordinaire entre le martyr chrétien et le fléau qui précède la guerre de Troie.

La figure, omniprésente dans tous ces lieux de culte, de saint Georges terrassant le dragon poserait sans doute, à une analyse plus longue, un cas très intéressant. Cette figure est très en faveur dans l'iconographie et la piété byzantine, surtout depuis le triomphe de l'orthodoxie. La figure de saint Georges a fait partie de la propagande iconodoule: et la "dragon" y a été explicitement désigné comme l'empereur iconomaque au moment de la crise; le dragon désigne non pas tant le démon que le principe hérétique qui, lui, est taxé de démoniaque. Nous sommes ici, chronologiquement dans l'après-coup de la prise de Constantinople par Mehemet II, et dans le souvenir très récent des entreprises de Mathias Corvin contre les Turcs, appuyées par le Vatican et l'Autriche. On se rappelle qu'après la prise de Constantinople l'empire byzantin s'est reconstitué partiellement avec pour capitale Trébizonde. Les panneaux consacrés à saint

Georges dans ces églises, même les plus modestes, comme la chapelle de Zanigrad, accordent une place d'honneur au saint défenseur de la chrétienté: on y distingue toujours très clairement, derrière le saint terrassant le dragon, la ville de Trébizonde, et la princesse tenant le monstre en laisse avec sa ceinture. A titre d'hypothèse, je noterais que l'introduction très importante, et régulière, de ce thème dans la région pourrait indiquer, pour le moins une zone de contact avec l'orthodoxie, en tout cas un intérêt commun aux deux Eglises latine et grecque devant les entreprises du Turc dans la région. Enfin, et cette seconde hypothèse complémentaire n'est sans doute pas à négliger: notre période, fin XVe, est celle d'une emprise des Habsbourg sur la région, alors sous le règne de l'empereur germanique Frédéric III; sans doute est-il utile de rappeler que, depuis Frédéric II, les chevaliers allemands qui parcourent l'empire, ont dans tous les lieux de culte, et chapelles de pèlerinage de l'empire, y compris dans sa partie méridionale, des lieux ou des emplacements réservés à saint Georges, leur saint patron. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas à exclure que la figure du saint ait pu servir simultanément les deux types de vénération.

Fig. 9: St. George (photo: P. Trinajstić - Ž. Luković).

Sl. 9: Sv. Jurij (foto: P. Trinajstić - Ž. Luković).

Fig. 10: Ste Face (linteau de l'entrée) (photo: N. Gattin).
Sl. 10: Veronikin prt (foto: N. Gattin).

Il reste deux thèmes d'importance très largement traités dans ces programmes et qui dénotent une variation de style d'une extraordinaire amplitude. Ce sont le voyage et l'adoration des mages, qui occupe la presque intégralité de la paroi gauche des églises. Je n'ai pas ici la place d'en traiter à fond. Notons cependant que ce thème revêt dans la région une importance à peu près unique, qu'il constitue, sous forme d'"histoire" une progression vers l'autel, l'adoration de la figure du Christ et de son sacrement. Une particularité est celle de la Vierge recevant les mages dans l'étable mais assise sur un trône, à la manière byzantine; elle ne leur présente cependant par l'icône du Christ mais l'enfant vivant; elle est enfin posée de trois quart, c'est-à-dire entre la position de la Vierge carolingienne et romane, de profil, et la Vierge byzantine, assise de face. Le voyage des mages commence au palais d'Hérode; illustration d'un mélange, déjà courant à l'époque romane entre les deux sources hellénistique et syrienne. Reste un trait assez notable qui est l'allure de cette longue fresque des mages et ceci dans toutes les églises que j'ai pu visiter. Le style, ou les apparentements de style, malgré les efforts d'harmonisation des peintres, dénotent régulièrement une manière italienne dans les premiers plans, les fond de paysage, les collines coiffées de citadelles, les chevaux, détails de vêtements; on y décèle, il est vrai, notamment sur les figures de paysans occupant les premiers plans des compromis avec la manière rhénane,

assez caractéristiques, comme il a été noté par B. Fučić, de quelques scènes de la vie du Christ, notamment à Beram.

Pour conclure ces notes brèves, et toutes provisoires, sur les chapelles d'Istrie et l'église de Hrastovlje, j'évoquerai, comme pierre d'attente, la place importante accordée à la Danse macabre; là non plus je ne puis traiter du style proprement dit. La diffusion de ce thème dans la chrétienté latine est contemporaine de l'édification et de l'ornementation des églises mentionnées. La singularité tient sans doute à la perfection de ces sarabandes funèbres, très détaillées, soignées, admirablement mises en scène par un fond monochrome, bleu à Hrastovlje, rouge à Beram. Contrairement aux longs panneaux déroulant l'histoire des rois mages, qui peuvent montrer des apparentements avec la manière italienne (qui vont de Simone Martini, jusqu' à Uccello et Pisanello), les danses macabres s'apparentent manifestement avec la manière rhénane qui, semble-t-il, aurait été dans ce cas la source thématique. Notons enfin que le thème de la danse des morts est un thème alors récent. Après le *Dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*, illustré par des fresques italiennes au XIII^e siècle, c'est sans doute un texte français dû à Jean Le Fevre, autour de 1375, "Je dis de Macabré la Danse" qui inaugure l'invention du thème et sa diffusion en Europe. Il est remarquable que la diffusion de ce thème n'intéresse que le nord de l'Europe. La préfiguration de ce thème

dans les "Vers de la mort", au milieu du XIV^e montraient déjà ces processions par ordre hiérarchique où un mort conduisait un vivant à la tombe. Le renouveau du thème, évidemment lié aux ravages de la peste, va néanmoins occuper la seconde moitié du XV^e selon qu'en témoignent de nombreuses fresques et dont subsistent surtout la danse macabre de Kermaria en Bretagne (1440), celle de La Chaise-Dieu, en Auvergne (1460) qui constitue le point le plus méridional de ces représentations en France. D'autres lieux de la danse macabre étaient situés en haute et basse Normandie, dans le Poitou, en Bourgogne. La diffusion du thème dans sa reprise française s'est faite très rapidement, vers 1430, en Angleterre et en Ecosse; pour notre objet, le modèle français passe en Rhénanie, renouvelle le vieux thème allemand, s'étend à Mayence, Heidelberg, Munich et gagne le sud des pays germaniques. Les danses macabres de Klein Basel et de Gross Basel en Suisse (datées des mêmes années, 1440) diffuseront durablement ce modèle en Helvétie. La diffusion par les gravures, surtout xylographiées, a incontestablement

contribué à populariser ce thème et à le stéréotyper. Nous nous trouvons avec les représentations d'Istrie, parmi les plus parfaites, au point le plus méridional de diffusion du thème et encore très proche de sa date d'émission.

Il serait d'un certain intérêt, à partir des remarques précédentes, de pouvoir travailler sur la répartition des thèmes entrant dans la composition des programmes iconographiques de ces églises, dont j'espère avoir montré la cohérence; et telle en effet qu'elle exclut les détails anecdotiques. Je dois avouer que ma curiosité a tout d'abord été éveillée par les dites "natures mortes" de Hrastovlje. Il me semblait utile d'insister sur la cohérence des programmes iconographiques mis en oeuvre dans ces églises, d'indiquer au moins les liaisons et les effets de symétrie; de pointer provisoirement un problème des sources de quelques thèmes et de laisser ouverte, jusqu'à plus ample informé, la question assez délicate (sa résolution appartient en grande partie à l'historien) de l'existence ou du témoignage d'un véritable syncrétisme religieux ou cultuel dans la région.

Fig. 11: La communion des apôtres (partie droite), Moscou, fin XVI^e, Collection Abou Adul; ed. Skira-Flammarion 1993, page 104 catalogue.

Sl. 11: Obhajilo apostolov (desna stran), Moskva, konec 16. stol, zbirka Abou Adul; zal. Skira-Flammarion 1993, str. 103 v katalogu.

O HRASTOVELJSKIH FRESKAH – ZAPISI OB IKONOGRFSKEM PROGRAMU

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POVZETEK

Pričujoči članek je oris bodoče študije ikonografskega programa nekaterih istrskih cerkva, ki se navezuje na poslikave cerkve v Hrastovljah. Zapiski z ogleda hrastovske cerkve in prispevki Janeza Höflerja o Hrastovljah, Branka Fučiča o cerkvi v Beramu in zgodovinski oris Darka Darovca, s katerimi sem se seznanil, so me utrdili v prepričanju o bogastvu in izvirnosti ter kompleksnosti stenskih poslikav v cerkvah, ki sem jih obiskal.

Izjemen čar cerkve v Hrastovljah je v njenem zaprtem svetu, ki ohranja zgodovino ter pobožne motive in ponuja poučni načrt religiozne tvorbe. Na njenih stenah so zgodovina sveta, prednikov, Kristusa in device Marije, podobe svetih priprošnjikov, instrumenti zveličanja in odrešenja in opozarjanje na človekov položaj.

Ena posebnosti poslikav je v vrsti medaljonov, naslikanih na obokih stranskih ladij, ki predstavljajo značilna letna opravila. Janez Höfler je opozoril na sorodnost teh ornamentov z grafikami Koledarja iz Augsburga. To primerjavo lahko razširimo na priljubljene grafike pastirskih koledarjev, pa tudi na rimsko tradicijo koledarjev v katedralah, vdelenih v medaljonih ali na kapitljih v 12. in 13. stoletju. Zaradi varčnosti, značilne za tovrstno gradnjo, so medaljoni poslikani na mestu, ki je tradicionalno pripadalo izklesanim medaljonom v sklepnem kamnu oboka. Zlitje človeškega in svetega časa je izjemno očarljiva značilnost hrastovske cerkve. Branje koledarja opozarja na lep pano na oboku glavne ladje, posvečen opravičilu Adama in Eve, na spodnjem registru pa mu odgovarja lovska scena pohoda Treh kraljev in na bolj dramatičen način mrtvaški ples. Ob tem ne bi smeli sklepati, kot je to običaj, da te scene pričajo o kmečkem življenju. Ustrezajo namreč stalnim, precej stereotipnim modelom, ki so bili nekaj stoletij razširjeni v Evropi. Te podobe preprosto vnašajo človekov čas v liturgičnega. Podobno velja za dve "tihožitji", naslikani na spodnjem polju delilnih sten med apsidami, ki obdajata oltar. Svečana postavitve izključuje vsakršno naturalistično ali realistično sliko. Predstavitev predmetov ali vsakodnevnih pripomočkov ima smisel zgolj v odnosu do liturgije.

Obilne poslikave, živahnost barv, raznolikost obravnavanih tem opazovalca kaj lahko zmedejo. Gre, na primer, tudi za nenavaden način slikanja fresk v cerkvah z latinskimi obredi. Bogastvo okrasja je mogoče primerjati z bizantinskimi freskami, kjer na zidovih ni bilo praznin. Primerjava navzlic temu postavlja vprašanje, ki zadeva razvoj ikonografskega programa cerkve v Hrastovljah in istodobnih istrskih cerkva (konec 15. stoletja).

V primerjavi s cerkvami sv. Štefana v Zanimgradu, sv. Marije na Škrilinah pri Beramu in sv. Roka v Draguču, predstavlja cerkev v Hrastovljah daleč najbolj popolno podobo.

Ključne besede: Istra, ikonografski program, obred, realizem/stereotipi, sinkretizem, evharistija, pravoslavlstvo, Trije kralji, sv. Jurij

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PICTORIAL SOURCES FOR OBJECTS BELONGING TO RESIDENTIAL INTERIORS ON MEDIEVAL WALL PAINTINGS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

In order to find as much as possible about the objects that were characteristics for residential interiors in the Late Middle Ages, we searched for traces of them in Gothic wall paintings in Slovenia. The interpretation of registered pictorial sources is based on a comparison between the general line of development of individual kinds of objects used in medieval society and the objects surviving in Slovene museum collections.

Key words: objects, residential interiors, pictorial sources, frescoes, Slovenia, Late Middle Ages

FONTI PITTORICHE PER OGGETTI APPARTENENTI AGLI INTERNI RESIDENZIALI NEGLI AFFRESCHI MEDIEVALI IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

Per poter sapere quanto più possibile sugli oggetti caratteristici degli interni del tardo Medio Evo, si sono cercate tracce nelle pitture murali gotiche in Slovenia. L'interpretazione delle fonti pittoriche si basa sul confronto tra lo sviluppo generale dei singoli tipi di oggetti utilizzati nella società medievale e gli oggetti presenti nelle collezioni dei musei sloveni.

Parole chiave: oggetti, interni residenziali, fonti pittoriche, affreschi, Slovenia, tardo Medio Evo

INTRODUCTION

The period covered by the theme is that of the Late Middle Ages – from the late 13th to the late 15th or early 16th centuries. Art history refers to this period as the Gothic. Research has been focused on the illustrations of objects in medieval frescoes in Slovenia and has had to observe the methodology for treating the objects themselves as well as the pictorial sources for them.

Since objects do not "speak for themselves" it was long held that they are mute, hard to understand, and that they can only be of use as charming illustrations of the past. Nowadays we have come to accept that the great value of objects as historical sources lies in the fact that they are direct witnesses to past periods, and that they do not distort the image of the past (as may happen, for instance, when written sources are used uncritically). It is therefore appropriate to say that objects represent a "frozen" image of the past and that they are the most pristine remains of a time that has passed.

Such views derive from the function of objects held in a museum – the only institutions which collect, preserve and do research on objects, and present them in their exhibitions. A task which is to be accomplished primarily by museums is thus to learn about objects, establish their meaning, and to extract from them the message they have to tell us.

This task engages different basic scientific disciplines which include objects in their research and which are aimed at the same objective – to know the past. These disciplines are history, art history, archaeology and ethnology.

The ideal approach to do research on the past is thus a interdisciplinary one, a co-operation in which various fields of research work on the selected issues. The research and interpretation of objects is not about trying to distinguish between the individual disciplines involved, but about acquiring a comprehensive knowledge of the objects and complementing this knowledge across the various disciplines.

A specific problem encountered in the research is the fact that relatively few objects have survived from the Late Middle Ages. The reasons for this fact have been put forward in the catalogue of the exhibition *Gothic in Slovenia – The World of Objects*, (Gotika v Sloveniji, 1995) installed in the National Museum of Slovenia in 1995. Of the principal reasons, why the number of survived objects was heavily reduced by the test of time, the following may be mentioned: many objects were discarded as waste because tastes changed, others were destroyed by the Turkish incursions or were melted down (valuable ecclesiastical objects) as part of the defence measures against these incursions; further detrimental events were the expulsion of the Jews, the dissolution of the monasteries under Joseph II, and, finally, the fall of the castles, the ravages of

war in the past century and their consequences, the attitude to the cultural heritage etc. Museums thus became and still have been the only refuge for objects.

Given this fate, we tried to find a new source which would bring the objects from the Late Middle Ages closer to our understanding and found it in the pictorial illustrations of objects.

The analysis of the artistic illustrations of objects belonging to the movable cultural heritage of the Late Middle Ages was based on the fact that medieval frescoes in Slovenia were painted under the influence and as part of the flow of ideas from a wider European context. At the same time they were the result of domestic artistic developments which depended on the openness of the individual provinces to foreign influences, on the operation and talents of domestic and itinerant artists and their workshops and, of course, also on the wishes of the commissioners of these works of art. Painting therefore is an essential part of the cultural identity of the Slovene territory, and at the same time it is part of the common European cultural heritage.

Similarly to art, material culture – which encompasses the objects surrounding people for some time during their lives – constitutes a part of a period's identity. People of the Late Middle Ages are no exception, because they, too, were surrounded by a wealth of objects.

In order to learn as much as possible about the objects typical of this period we have tried to find traces of them in the survived Gothic wall paintings in Slovenia.

In doing so we took account of the basic purpose of medieval works of art which were, of course, subjected to religious contents and as such carried out their mission of being the "Bible of the illiterate" (Jaritz, 1980, 8). The developments in the Late Middle Ages, however, also caused them to reflect and express the time in which they originated. This was necessary for them to address the people of their time. In order to be closer to them their artistic approach included objects people were familiar with because they were surrounded with them in their everyday life. If and where objects appear in the presentation of individual sacred events, they are usually depicted in order to emphasise something particularly significant. This has nothing to do with realism in the present sense of the word, but with making the religious message more tangible by using everyday examples, and with "humanising" the message (Vavra, 1984, 203).

However, considering individual compact European areas, including the Slovene provinces, this certainly does not mean that every depicted object, view of a landscape or town, is typical of that area or even directly copied from it. And though there is no way to prove this beyond any doubt, we may nevertheless conclude that the depicted objects or scenes from everyday life were characteristic of life in the Middle Ages. The "reality of paintings" however remains just that and nothing more, and it cannot be the reality of everyday life.

Pictorial sources can be used as tools of interpretation because we compare them with other sources. If certain written sources or survived genuine objects did not exist, paintings should not be used to the extent practised nowadays for studying everyday life in the past (Jaritz, 1989, 19).

In order to experience "life's reality" as reflected in a unique written source from this period – Paolo Santonino's *A Traveller's Diaries* (Vale, 1943) – we have used his references of particular types of objects, made during his visits to our provinces in 1486 and 1487, as contemporary illustrations. This complementation seems relevant as the text is a unique document of the cultural history of Europe's Late Middle Ages, reflecting the author's mentality as well as the time in which it was written.

The selection from the extensive documented material, provided by the surviving medieval frescoes in Slovenia, is limited below to the objects which belong to residential interiors; attention is drawn to some typical objects and they are illustrated with selected pictorial sources. From these we shall attempt not only to learn about individual types of objects, but also about their different forms.

FURNITURE

This is especially true of furniture. Among the material in Slovene museums, no **benches** have survived. The pictorial sources help us to distinguish simple benches in which the legs are plain stakes inserted into the seat in the form of a triangle (*The Last Supper, 1400-1420, Selo v Prekmurju*) (Fig.1), and other benches in which the inserted legs are only slightly angled (*Judas receiving thirty pieces of silver, between 1451 and 1459, Slovenj Gradec*).

Fig. 1: *The Last Supper, 1400-1420, Selo v Prekmurju (detail).*

Sl. 1: *Zadnja večerja, 1400-1420, Selo v Prekmurju (detajl).*

Fig. 2: *Crowning of Mary, ar. 1450, Suha pri Škofji Loki (detail).*

Sl. 2: *Marijino kronanje, ok. 1450, Suha pri Škofji Loki (detajl).*

Chest-benches had the form of an plain elongated chests without back rest and were used to seat several people (*The Last Supper, 1370-1389, Crngrob*). A special bench form evolved in the 15th century, the *cassapanca* – a wooden bench with a built-in chest under the seat. It had a high back rest, arms rests, and in order to increase its representative character it was set on a carefully designed footrest, on which people rested their feet, protecting them from the cold and moisture rising from the floor.

The depicted chest-benches vary substantially. A bench in which the left and right sides of the box-like part's front are shaped differently probably is the fruit of the artist's imagination. The left side has a conical arch, while the right side has two small arches, one set on top of the other. The base is often flat and moulded, the back rest has laths and the front reveals pointed arches (*Crowning of Mary, ar. 1450, Suha pri Škofji Loki*) (Fig. 2). The front of the box-shaped part of the bench is ogee carved to the left and right, while the sides are cut into the shape of arches (*The Annunciation, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

A novelty of the Late Middle Ages was benches with a movable back. They were particularly convenient for sitting beside the fireplace as the movable back made it possible to sit comfortably regardless from which side the fire's warmth came. In the only pictorial source which shows such a bench (*St. Ulric at Supper, 1502, Križna gora*) (Fig. 3) the bench is placed at a table. The bottom part of the side is ogee carved while the top is concave. A small disk, inserted at the joint of the side and back, forms the main part of the swing-mechanism.

Medieval frescoes reveal quite a range of different **chairs**, but only two have survived in Slovene museums

peak in the Renaissance in Italy. Two illustrations of this chair have been recorded in Slovenia, the former (*The Adoration of the Magi, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*) (Fig. 5) suggests a *Savonarola* chair because it partially shows the form of a chair with a typically upward curved section with an arm rest topped in a carved conical extension. The chair's legs are curved and end in animal paws.

Fig. 3: St. Ulric at Supper, 1502, Križna gora (detail).
Sl. 3: Sv. Urh pri večerji, 1502, Križna gora (detajl).

(a stool from around 1500, and a *Savonarola* chair from the late 16th century) (Bučič, 1973, 57). In the paintings we find a stool, a chair with a semicircular back, a chest chair, a foldable chair (*faldistorium*), a *Savonarola* chair, a wicker chair, as well as various forms of luxurious chairs.

The simplest is a stool which consists of a board and three or four stake-shaped legs (*Judas receiving thirty pieces of silver, between 1451 and 1459, Slovenj Gradec*). An example of a simple foldable chair without a back appears in a pictorial source (*The Circumcision of Jesus, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*) (Fig. 4), in which the bottom part of the chair, consisting of four crossed stakes is clearly visible, as well a seat furnished with cloth or leather.

Another form of foldable chair is that made of bent and crossed legs – an X- frame chair. This is a comfortable chair, called *Savonarola*. The first are known to have existed in from the mid 15th century reaching their

Fig. 4: The Circumcision of Jesus, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 4: Kristusovo obrezovanje, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).

Fig. 5: The Adoration of the Magi, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 5: Poklon svetih treh kraljev, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).



Fig. 6: *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1490, Hrastovlje (detail).

Sl. 6: *Poklon svetih treh kraljev*, 1490, Hrastovlje (detajl).

The latter (*The Adoration of the Magi*, after 1521, *Vine pri Zagorju*) shows a Savonarola chair with curved and crossed legs, while the back is clearly identifiable. The bent slats become denser at the bottom; they cross at the seat to curve upward again and form the arm rests. These illustrations make it clear that the new type of chair appeared quite soon in our pictorial sources.

Though wickerwork furniture, made of stakes and rods, was common in the Middle Ages, we have found only one illustration of a wicker chair (*Christ before Pilate*, 1400-1420, *Selo v Prekmurju*). The chair's legs show a range of semicircular cut-outs, its back and arm rests are semicircular, too. The side which is visible in the painting is interlaced.

Thrones are luxurious chairs, designed in the Gothic spirit, which in accordance with the iconographic motifs appear in particular scenes. Such chairs were used in churches to seat church dignitaries, and in the great halls by the lord of the castle and his eminent guests. Cushions covered in tapestry or embroidered cloth were often added (Bučić, 1973, 12). The chairs had back and arm rests and often also a canopy (*The Journey and Adoration of the Magi*, first third 14th century, *Selo v Prekmurju*). Master Janez from Kastav no doubt used the

same print when painting twice the same luxurious chair (*The Adoration of the Magi*, 1490, *Hrastovlje* (Fig. 6); *The Adoration of the Magi*, ar. 1490, *Gradišče*), of which the left side is clearly visible. The sides are filled out with a rich, three-dimensional foliate ornament with acanthus leaves. The cresting consists of scrollwork and is decorated with a foliate ornament ending in a crocket.

By the Middle Ages **tables** had not yet acquired a permanent place in the living quarters. They were moved about and reassembled when needed. Three ancient tables have survived in Slovene museums (National Museum of Slovenia, Koper Regional Museum, Ptuj Regional Museum) (Gotika v Sloveniji, 1995, cat. no. 2. 1. 5). The paintings indicate that both simple and more demanding executions of tables existed.

Simple tables had a board at table height and stake-shaped legs, driven into holes in the table's corners. The legs are usually angled (*Holy Sunday – A butcher chopping a leg*, ar. 1455-1460, *Crngrob*) (Fig. 7) with added stretchers (*Jesus drives the Merchants from the Temple*, between 1451 and 1459, *Slovenj Gradec*).

A typical example of a late medieval table is depicted in *Holy Sunday (A tailor sewing at a table*, ar. 1455-1460, *Crngrob*), in which the leg has the same width as the table top. The bottom is carved into scrollwork, while the top part is carved into an arch and ends in a hump. The thinnest part of each leg has a hole for inserting the stretcher.

An example of a drawer table – these had one or more drawers under the table top which could be lifted – is illustrated by the representation of a table (*Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*) (Fig. 8) which has an upright board inserted under the table top, perhaps indicating a drawer.

Fig. 7: *Holy Sunday-A Butcher Chopping a Leg*, ar. 1455-1460, Crngrob (detail).

Sl. 7: *Sveta Nedelja-Mesar seka stegno*, ok. 1455-1460, Crngrob (detajl).

Fig. 8: Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 8: Marijina pot v tempelj, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).

No **cradles** have been preserved, but two types of cradles are depicted. In two illustrations (*The Holy Kinship, 1480-1490, Senično pri Golniku; Mary's Birth, Var. 1480-1490, the painted ceiling in Breg pri Predvoru*) the cradles are supported by C-shaped rocking legs, their ends are segmented, and have openings for the handles. Another cradle is shown in *The Dance of Death (1490, Hrastovlje)* (Fig. 9) and has the form of an elongated box, fixed to the rockers with projecting scrolls on all four corners (Makarovič, 1981, 191).

Since no **beds** are extant, pictorial sources are the only way to document their different forms and showing mats, bedsteads, beds with legs and headboards, canopy beds, drawer beds, and beds with a chest-bench.

Fig. 10: The Death of St. Martin, 1392, Martjanci (detail).

Sl. 10: Smrt sv. Martina, 1392, Martjanci (detajl).

On his journey through Styria, Carinthia and Carniola Paolo Santonino noticed that people seemed to have geese everywhere, and even the lowest crofters had down-filled duvets (Vale, 1943, 170).

An ordinary wooden bed or bedstead usually was a shallow box with four legs or a base. Beds with straight foot and head boards end in slender posts at both ends. These are taller than the central part of the boards and at the top they turn into volutes turned inside (*The Death of St. Martin, 1392, Martjanci*) (Fig. 10), or extend just a little above the board in volutes turned inside (*St. Nicholas provides dowries for three poor brides, ar. 1410-1420, Breg pri Predvoru*).

Fig. 9: The Dance of Death, 1490, Hrastovlje (detail).

Sl. 9: Mrtvaški ples, 1490, Hrastovlje (detajl).

Fig. 11: The Annunciation, ar. 1520, Svino pri Kobaridu (detail).

Sl. 11: Oznanjenje, ok. 1520, Svino pri Kobaridu (detajl).

Fig. 12: Mary's Birth, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 12: Marijino rojstvo, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).

On perhaps the oldest representation of a canopy bed (*Mary's Death*, late 14th century, *Tinska gora*) the back of the canopy is placed at the headboard and it is perforated by two Gothic two-lights with tracery. The front and sides of the canopy are decorated with shallow carving and cut out to form arches, the canopy's top is ornamented with a row of perforated, triangular extensions imitating pinnacles.

Fig. 13: Crucifixion and the Donor's Family, ar. 1430-1440, Ptuj (detail).

Sl. 13: Križanje z donatorjevo družino, ok. 1430-1440, Ptuj (detajl).

The only recorded box-bed in a fresco (*The Annunciation*, ar. 1520, *Svino pri Kobaridu*) (Fig. 11) stands in the corner of the depicted room. Its tall sides reach almost to the ceiling, and a flat canopy overhangs the entire bed. Beside the bed there is a chest-bench, used to mount the bed. It may, of course, also have been used to store various objects (*Mary's Death*, mid 15th century, *Vuzenica*). The bench may be entirely designed as a chest (*Mary's Death*, 1456, *Muljava*) or its sides may be slightly higher than the longitudinal part of the bench, and the upper parts may be cut to form an undulating pattern, while the bottom part of one side reveals a cut-out in the form of a Gothic trefoil (*Mary's Birth*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*) (Fig. 12).

Throughout the Middle Ages **chests** preserved their centuries-old function as the main storing furniture. They stood in corridors and entrances, at the foot of beds in bedrooms, and in dining rooms their usual place was at the wall, among wooden benches. Quite a number of chests survived in our museum collections (National Museum of Slovenia, Maribor Regional Museum, Koper Regional Museum) (Bučič, 1984, cat. no. 1-7). Only four have been recorded in pictorial sources (*The Annunciation*, 1430, *Piran*; *Crucifixion and the donor's family*, ar. 1430-1440, *Ptuj* (Fig. 13); *Holy Sunday – Dressing up*, ar. 1455-1460, *Crngrob*; *Mary in the temple*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

The chest in the Ptuj painting (Fig. 13) summarises the genuine Gothic characteristics. It stands on a base whose bottom is cut out in one place at the side and in three places in front, and the box-like part of the chest is decorated with ornamental moulding.

To date only one illustration of a **cupboard with shelves** is known (*Mary's Death*, mid 15th century, *Vuzenica*). It has been placed behind the headboard of bed revealing two shelves and objects arranged on them. The top part consist of a saw-toothed lath.

VALUABLE OBJECTS

Valuable objects in the form of different vessels were a typical status symbol in the Middle Ages and the materials they were made of were costly in their own right: gold, silver, and precious stones. The only evidence we have of these vessels of different forms comes from the pictorial sources. The most frequent are scenes from *The Journey and Adoration of the Magi* which reveal vessels of various forms: a cup (*The Journey of the Magi*, 1440-1455, *Srednja vas pri Šenčurju*) (Fig. 14), a vessel shaped like a horn, jewellery cases (*The Journey and Adoration of the Magi*, 1467, *Mače nad Preddvorom*), and a cup decorated with precious stones (*The Journey of the Magi*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*) (Fig. 15).

on his head, whose hands are spread out holding a plate with moulded edges and the nozzle (Gothic in Slovenia – The World of Objects, cat. no. 3. 1. 2). Only one illustration of a two-arm candlestick has been found in the frescoes (*Still-life with candlestick*, ar. 1520, *Brod v Bohinju*) (Fig. 16).

Fig. 14: *The Journey of the Magi*, 1440-1455, *Srednja vas pri Šenčurju* (detail).

Sl. 14: *Pohod svetih treh kraljev*, 1440-1455, *Srednja vas pri Šenčurju* (detajl).

Fig. 15: *The Journey of the Magi*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom* (detail).

Sl. 15: *Pohod svetih treh kraljev*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom* (detajl).

LIGHTS

Lights have found their way to collections in the form of oil lamps (Gotika v Sloveniji, 1995, cat. no. 3. 1. 48; cat. no. 3. 1. 51; cat. no. 2. 2. 3. 19; cat. no. 2. 3. 5; cat. no. 2. 3. 6) and candlesticks. Especially interesting among them is a two-arm candlestick in the form of bearded man in a tunic with wide sleeves and a tricorn

Fig. 16: *Still-life with candlestick*, ar. 1520, *Brod v Bohinju* (detail).

Sl. 16: *Tihožitje s svečnikom*, ok. 1520, *Brod v Bohinju* (detajl).

Glass lamps were typical of the Middle Ages, but unfortunately none have been preserved. In the frescoes we find them in the hands of wise and unwise virgins in two paintings (*The wise and unwise virgins*, 1470-1475, *Goropeč nad Ihanom* (Fig.17); *The wise and unwise virgins*, 1536, *Police*). In the first painting the form of the lamp is fairly clear: a funnel-shaped bottom to hold in one's hand and a cup-shaped top. In the pictorial source we can even see that the cup-shaped parts of the lamps have vertical ribs on the body.

Santonino reports on glass lamps when he describes an event in Villach: "It happened that the Holy Sacrament, the Eucharist, was taken to a sick citizen... Four lads dressed in red and with red caps on their heads carried four lit glass lamps in their hands, fixed to painted holders or sticks, and they marched up front singing songs of praise." (Vale, 1943, 195) Lanterns, too, are depicted quite often in the frescoes.

Bottles typical of the Late Middle Ages were pear-shaped or spherical with long narrow necks. There are both types of bottle on the wall paintings: spherical ones with a long, narrow neck (*The Last Supper*, ar. 1370-1380, *Crngrob*); *The Last Supper*, ar. 1460, *Vitanje*) (Fig. 18), and, in one fresco, a bottle with a high kicked base (*Still-life with bottle*, 1490, *Hrastovlje*) (Fig. 19).

Another type of bottle were the ones with round and pear-shaped bodies and wide, slightly shorter necks and everted rims (*The Last Supper*, ar. 1480-1490, *Koseč*).

Jars and jugs are both found in the paintings and in museum collections. Excavated ceramic vessels are particularly well represented in museums collections, but unfortunately they have not been evaluated yet. In the pictorial sources jars with a round body prevail; their base is usually wider at the bottom, they have round everted rims and handles (*Adam and Eve working*, 1490, *Hrastovlje*).

Fig. 17: *The Wise and Unwise Virgins*, 1470-1475, *Goropeč nad Ihanom* (detail).

Sl. 17: *Pametne in nespametne device*, 1470-1475, *Goropeč nad Ihanom* (detajl).

TABLEWARE

A special group of objects consists of tableware. Only fragments of **bottles** are to be found in museum collections: the body of a bottle, pinched under the neck, with a wide foot (Štular, 1975, cat. no. 62), a fragment of a pinched bottle with an applied ornament in the form of a thick intertwined thread (*Gotika v Sloveniji*, 1995, cat. no. 2. 1. 20), the neck of a bottle with an applied blue thread (*Gotika v Sloveniji*, 1995, cat. no. 3. 3. 2. 5) and a fragment of a pinched bottle with a deeply kicked base (Kos, Žvanut, 1994, cat. no. 10).

Fig. 19: *Still-life with Bottle*, 1490, *Hrastovlje* (detail).

Sl. 19: *Tihožitje s steklenico*, 1490, *Hrastovlje* (detajl).

18: *The Last Supper*, ar. 1460, *Vitanje* (detail).

Sl. 18: *Zadnja večerja*, ok. 1460, *Vitanje* (detajl).

Fig. 20: *The Annunciation*, 1459, *Kamni vrh* (detail).

Sl. 20: *Oznanjenje*, 1459, *Kamni vrh* (detajl).

Fig. 21: Still-life with Jar, 1490, Hrastovlje (detail).
Sl. 21: Tihožitje z vrčem, 1490, Hrastovlje (detajl).

In one instance (*The Annunciation, 1459, Kamni vrh*) (Fig. 20) a jar is used as a vase – the flowers painted in it indicate this function. The vessel has a widened base, a globular body, a ring around the neck, the rim widens slightly at the top, and the handles extend to the middle of the body where they bend outwards.

Mention must also be made of a jar (*Still-life with jar, 1490, Hrastovlje*) (Fig. 21), which by its form and the style of its painted globular section belongs to the typical Italian majolica jars. It is particular because of the painted oval shield on the body's front which is bordered by two parallel lines and because of the stylised ornament on it.

On his journeys Santonino was often offered drinks in jars. At Rosegg Castle the castellan Andreas "himself took a big jar and let all the members of our travelling company drink from it" (Vale, 1943, 211). On "Mount of the Mercy" (Ptujška gora) Santonino had to sit beside Omelia, the lady of the house, "who offered him to drink from the jar she and her good husband usually drank from" (Vale, 1943, 238). These references confirm that it was usual for several people at a table to drink from the same jar. In Celje the mighty master lord sent Santonino, who did not take his supper with the others, "a big tin jar, full of excellent Malvasia wine, to drink in his honour" (Vale, 1943, 265).

Glasses are also vessels used for drinking as part of tableware and several have been preserved in museum collections. One of them is a glass made of clear light green glass, blown into a ribbed mould: a thread is applied under the rim, and the base is strengthened with applied glass protuberances with openings (Štular, 1975, cat. no. 48). A specimen of a prunt glass has a trailed thread below the widened funnel-shaped rim, a flame-like glass protuberance was applied to the base and protruding prunts were applied to the body (Kos,

Žvanut, 1994, cat. no. 51). A small tumbler with a warty pattern on the body was blown into a mould with a pattern of wart-like protrusions. The warty pattern is seen in the lower section of the body, and is barely apparent in the narrow band below the rim (Kos, Žvanut, 1994, cat. no. 50). A stalk beaker is green blue and has a trailed thread below the widened funnel-shaped rim; its base is saw-toothed. The body has six vertical rows of applied drops or prunts which make it resemble a cabbage stalk (Kos, Žvanut, cat. no. 49).

Several typical forms of medieval glasses can be detected on wall paintings.

Footless glasses were used for many centuries. As they had no base, people had to hold them in their hands and on emptying them, put them upside down on the table. In the pictorial sources a number of glasses is laid or set upside down on a table. It is obvious from the illustrations that the bottoms of these glasses were conical (*The Last Supper, between 1451 and 1459, Slovenj Gradec*) or round (*The Last Supper, ar. 1460, Vitanje*).

Short and wide glasses with a more or less widened rim, called *maigeleîn*, were typical products of forest glassworks. They were decorated with molten blobs and ornamental ribs or had pronounced protuberances on the body. Such a bowl-shaped glass with indicated prunts on the body is found in the pictorial sources (*The Last Supper, ar. 1370-1380, Crngrob*).

Barrel-shaped or cylindrical glasses were very common. And we often find such glasses in Slovenian medieval frescoes (*The Last Supper, ar. 1460, Vitanje*). Some of them are wider at the top (*Herod's Feast, ar. 1525, Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru*) (Fig. 22).

Fig. 22: Herod's Feast, ar. 1525, Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru (detail).

Sl. 22: Herodova gostija, ok. 1525, Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru (detajl).

Prunt glasses were conical, their body was either smooth or covered with vertical ribs. Hence their name of prunt glasses. Such a glass can be identified on the illustration of a glass with a flat base and ribbed body which widens towards the top (*St. Ulric at supper, 1502, Križna gora*) (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23: St. Ulric at Supper, 1502, Križna gora (detail).
Fig. 23: Sv. Urh pri večerji, 1502, Križna gora (detajl).

The pictorial sources contain references to another drinking habit in the Middle Ages. Simultaneously glasses of different shapes were used at a table. This is illustrated by a scene from *The Last Supper* (Crngrob, ar. 1370-1380). Several types of drinking vessels can be identified in the painting. The apostle to the left holds a *maigelein* glass, the second apostle with his back turned towards the observer has a conical glass, on the table between the third and fourth apostle stands a ribbed glass, between the fourth and fifth apostle there is a *maigelein* glass with molten drops applied to the body, and the last of the apostles to the right is drinking from a conical glass.

Santonino, who was often offered drinks on his journeys, confirms this variety of glasses in his writings. At Goldenstein Castle the guests were served excellent wines in silver cups (Vale, 1943, 128). In the public inn in Innichen they were offered wine in silver cups (Vale, 1943, 131). At the parish priest's house in the village of Doelsach they drank from two silver cups which were "gilded and very precious" (Vale, 1943, 140). In Dravograd they emptied many glasses (it is not mentioned of what type) (Vale, 1943, 145). At Rosegg Castle there was plenty of wine and "every guest had a silver, glass or crystal cup" (Vale, 1943, 209).

Fig. 24: The Journey of the Magi, ar. 1440-1445, Srednja vas pri Šenčurju (detail).
Sl. 24: Pohod svetih treh kraljev, ok. 1440-1445, Srednja vas pri Šenčurju (detajl).

An interesting example of illustrated drinking vessels, made of wood, ceramic, metal or glass are footed cups (Scheuer). Typically, the body is round and has a handle, a low base and a short neck. Such a drinking vessel has so far been found in only one pictorial source (*The Journey of the Magi*, ar. 1440-1445, *Srednja vas pri Šenčurju*) (Fig. 24).

The drinking ritual requires a vessel to cool the drinks. The depicted vessel on three legs (*St. Ulric at Supper*, 1502, *Križna gora*) is full of water and the drink is chilled in a jar with a lid. Similarly shaped is the vessel in *Herod's Feast*, (1525-1530, *Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru*) which stands on short slanted legs.

Knives are certainly the oldest items of cutlery, known from prehistoric times. A knife and a spoon were an individual's personal property and in some places part of a person's outfit. Up to the late 17th century it was indeed not common for the host to provide his guests with the necessary cutlery. In the preserved knives the back of the blade is straight, the handle lined with profiled bone which ends in the ornamental motif of a palmette; the oval end is decorated in relief as well (Gotika v Sloveniji, 1995, cat. no. 3. 1. 14).

The depicted knives have straight (*The Last Supper*, 1400-1420, *Selo v Prekmurju*) or long blades with straight backs and a slightly convex cutting edge (*The Last Supper*, between 1451 and 1459, *Slovenj Gradec*).

Describing a lavish dinner at Goldenstein Castle, Santonino writes: "Here I should mention something quite extraordinary: nearly everybody at dinner – and they all looked more likely to jump than to fly, attacked the partridges – fliers in the bowl with their knives and teeth" (Vale, 1943, 128).

Until the 16th century wood was the principal material tableware was made of. The well-to-do classes of society replaced them with ceramic, glass and tin products. But in the new materials the forms of the wooden vessels were often preserved. No wooden objects have survived, while on the other hand several thousands of fragments of ceramic tableware have and are found at practically every archaeological site. Archaeologists have elaborated a typology and have classified tableware into different groups and subgroups (Stare, 1996, 125-135).

As to the other tableware, **plates** often were just small wooden boards or rings on which food was placed. The plates found depicted in the frescoes are plain and probably imitate turned products. Some are deepen in the centre and have a wide edge (*Still Life with a plate*, 1490, *Hrastovlje*). A deeper plate or a small dish which is rather shallow appears only in one fresco (*Mary's Death*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

The pictorial sources have little to report about the forms of **bowls**, but there is a wealth of these ceramic objects among the material acquired for museums by archaeological methods. The depicted bowls have legs

Fig. 25: *The Last Supper*, 1370-1380, Crngrob (detail).
Sl. 25: *Zadnja večerja*, 1370-1380, Crngrob (detajl).

and a base decorated with a row of flutes (*The Last Supper*, 1430-1440, Dragomer). The rims are either everted or inverted (*The Last Supper*, 1370-1380, Crngrob) (Fig. 25).

Trays as shown in the pictorial sources are mostly round and have smooth edges. The body is decorated with ribs arranged in pairs (*St. Ulric at Supper*, 1502, Križna gora) (Fig. 26), or it may be raised (*Herod's Feast*, ar. 1525-1530, Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru).

Santonino, a keen observer at he feasts he and his companions were treated to during their journey, makes no mention at all of plates. They were, however, often served food in bowls. At Goldenstein Castle they were served trout and grayling in big bowls, placed on the table (Vale, 1943, 128). At Rosegg Castle "several chicken, or, better, winged hens" were served; "they were served in a wide bowl and in their broth, prepared and colourfully decorated with eggs and spices" (Vale, 1943, 209). At Beckstein Castle "the seventh dish was oats, cooked in a fat beef broth and served in a wide brilliant bowl" (Vale, 1943, 213). On "Mount of the Mercy" (Ptujška gora) the starter consisted of strawberries "which were first chilled in a bowl with fresh water and then at the table added to the wine" (Vale, 1943, 236).

Fig. 26: *St. Ulric at Supper*, 1502, Križna gora (detail).
Sl. 26: *Sv. Urh pri večerji*, 1502, Križna gora (detajl).

Fig. 27: *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 27: *Poklon svetih treh kraljev*, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).

Various **table cloths** existed as shown in the paintings of *The Last Supper*. They were white (*The Last Supper*, 1370-1380, Crngrob; *The Last Supper*, 1410-1420, Tupaliče), chequered (*The Last Supper*, ar. 1400, Sv. Lovrenc nad Škofjo Loko) or striped (*Herod's Feast*, ar. 1525-1530, Sv. Janez ob Bohinjskem jezeru). The edges of the cloths were usually decorated with fringes.

COOKING AND STORING VESSELS

An important place in every human dwelling is no doubt the kitchen. First there is the form of a **fireplace**, shown as an elevated fireplace in the form of a wooden box filled with earth (*Christ's Jesus' Birth*, 1494-1500, Krtina pri Domžalah; *Christ's Jesus' Birth*, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom).

A fireplace needed a hood (*The Adoration of the Magi*, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom) (Fig. 27). Bellows were pressed and released to fan the fire (*The Suffering of St. John the Evangelist*, ar. 1450-1455, Mošnje) (Fig. 28).

Fig. 28: *The Suffering of St. John the Evangelist*, ar. 1450-1455, Mošnje (detail).

Sl. 28: *Mučeništvo sv. Janeza Evangelista*, ok. 1450-1455, Mošnje (detajl).

The **fireplace crane** from which cooking vessels and kettles were suspended, had a central spiral rod-like section and a billet hook (*Adam and Eve working*, 1490, *Hrastovlje*). Among the fireplace-irons was a poker with a handle and a rectangular hook-shaped catch (*The Journey of the Magi – The Cook*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

Kitchens were equipped with various cooking and storing vessels. As far as the surviving objects are concerned, we have to repeat that no vessels made of wood have come to us. Vessels of unglazed ceramics, however, have. Throughout the centuries all these vessels saw few changes in their forms, but the forms always depended on the functions of the vessels, as we can see from the frescoes. Fragments of these vessels have been found at archaeological sites dating from the Late Middle Ages.

A **pan** as a low round vessel with a long and relatively wide handle can be seen in a detail of a scene (*Mary's Adoration of the Infant Jesus*, 1453, *Crngrob*) (Fig. 29), where St. Joseph's pap boils over in a pan. **Trivets**, very common in the Middle Ages, had a round or pouch-shaped body and a long handle (*The Suffering of St. John the Baptist*, ar. 1450-1455, *Mošnje*). **Pots** with handles were, among others, made of ceramic (*Adam and Eve working*, 1490, *Hrastovlje*) (Fig. 30). Among the metal kettles are painted vessels of round or cylindrical forms and they are bigger than the pots (*Adoration of the Magi*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

The pictorial sources show **ladles** and their functions; their forms have not seen essential changes for millennia (*Jesus' Birth*, 1453, *Crngrob*; *The Journey of the Magi*, ar. 1490, *Gradišče*; *The Journey of the Magi*, 1504, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*).

Fig. 30: Adam and Eve Working, 1490, Hrastovlje (detail).

Sl. 30: Adam in Eva pri delu, 1490, Hrastovlje (detajl).

Gourds – ceramic, wooden and metal ones were used – are classified as storing vessels. The pictorial sources faithfully illustrate that they were used to carry drinks and that their contents served to quench one's thirst. Round and flat gourds therefore appear in genre scenes of *The Journey of the Magi* (*Sv. Miklavž nad Čadramom*, ar. 1390; *Pangrč grm*, ar. 1390-1400; *Bled*, ar. 1455; *Šentjanž nad Dravčami*, ar. 1455; *Mače*, 1467; *Gradišče pri Divači*, ar. 1490; *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*, 1504).

Santonino also has a reference to this specific object when he feels sorry for a man "who has made the entire arduous journey up and down without a horse and even without a gourd over his shoulder to refresh himself, and was a true martyr" (Vale, 1943, 149).

Small **barrels** usually were made of wood, only occasionally of earthenware, and they were carried hung on leather straps. Some of them were furnished with a string to carry them attached to a belt (*The Miracle at the Grave of St. Nicholas*, 1470-1475, *Goropeč nad Ihanom*) (Fig. 31).

Fig. 29: Mary's Adoration of the Infant Jesus, 1453, Crngrob (detail).

Sl. 29: Marijino čaščenje Jezusa, 1453, Crngrob (detajl).

Fig. 31: The Miracle at the Grave of St. Nicholas, 1470-1475, Goropeč nad Ihanom (detail).

Sl. 31: Čudež ob grobu sv. Miklavža, 1470-1475, Goropeč nad Ihanom (detajl).

Fig. 32: St. Dorothy, between 1424 and 1426, Ptujška gora (detail).

Sl. 32: Sv. Doroteja, med 1424 in 1426, Ptujška gora (detajl).

Making and using wicker vessels belongs to the cultures of all times. Among the material preserved from the Middle Ages there are no wicker objects.

The illustrations of St. Dorothy show her attribute, a **wicker basket**. The pictorial sources illustrate two types of woven baskets: baskets with a spherical body (St. Dorothy, between 1424 and 1426, Ptujška gora (Fig. 32); St. Dorothy, 1453, Crngrob; St. Dorothy, 1455-1460, Vrh nad Želimljem; St. Dorothy, 1480-1490, Senično) and baskets with a cylindrical body (St. Dorothy, 1459, Kamni vrh nad Ambrusom; St. Dorothy, 1465-1470, Mirna na Dolenjskem; March and September, 1490, Hrastovlje, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom). The illustrations reveal vertical and diagonal weave patterns.

All the classes of society in the Middle Ages continually used wooden vessels, but, of course, none have survived.

Wooden **troughs** were meant for kneading dough, but they were also used for other purposes. In one of the paintings (*Still-life with Figs*, ar. 1410-1420, Breg pri Predvoru) (Fig. 33) the form of a trough is imitated by a tray with figs. Troughs were rectangular, with a shallowly hollowed centre and raised edges, which were bevelled.

Fig. 33: Still-life with Figs, 1410-1420, Breg pri Predvoru (detail).

Sl. 33: Tihožitje s figami, 1410-1420, Breg pri Predvoru (detajl).

Fig. 34: Mary in the Temple, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detail).

Sl. 34: Marija v templju, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom (detajl).

The frescoes also show large barrels (*Crucifixion with the donor's family*, 1430-1440, Ptuj; *St. Nicholas calms the storm*, between 1424 and 1426, Ptujška gora).

The depicted **tubs** are small wooden vessels, fixed with hoops. They may be rather high and narrow and have only one ear (*St. Florian*, third third of the 15th century, Bukovica) or they are low and wide and have two ears (*Mary's Adoration of the Infant Jesus*, 1455-1460, Vrh nad Želimljami; *The Journey of the Magi*, 1467, Mače).

Enclosure **boxes** were used for storing various objects from the Middle Ages to the 19th century. To date an enclosure box of elliptical shape has been found in only one painting (*Mary in the Temple*, 1504, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom) (Fig. 34).

OBJECTS FOR PERSONAL HYGIENE

Among the objects for personal hygiene we may classify water basins, baths-tubs and towels, which can all be found in the frescoes. In the Middle Ages washing-cabinets were used which, however, cannot be traced in our pictorial sources. They consisted of two cupboards, one above the other and joined at the back. In between a water jug was suspended, and the top part of the bottom cupboard contained a small washbasin. Such washing-cabinets have been kept in the National Museum of Slovenia and in the Ptuj Regional Museum (Gotika v Sloveniji, 1995, cat. no. 2. 1. 4).

Water **bowls** were usually turned. The bowls illustrated in the paintings widen from the bottom to the rim (*Christ before Pilate*, ar. 1440-1445, Srednja vas pri Šenčurju) or have a smooth body and an everted rim (*The Miracle at the grave of St. Nicholas*, 1470-1475, Goropeč nad Ihanom). Wooden **bath-tubs** were tied together with bands (*Holy Sunday – Bathing*, ar. 1455-1460, Crngrob) (Fig. 35).

allowed himself to be scrubbed gently by her white and soft hands..." (Vale, 1943, 160). At the house of master Stefan Lengholzer, the vicar in Berg, Santonino mentions a bathroom with a wooden tub (Vale, 1943, 169).

The towels in the paintings are white (*Mary's Adoration of the Infant Jesus, 1455-1469, Vrh nad Želimljem*) and usually ornamented. The ornaments are either plain cross bands with decorative fields filled out with slanted lines and rows of toppled squares (*Adam and Eve working, 1490, Hrastovlje*) or they may merely consist of ornamental lines (*Still-life with plate, 1490, Hrastovlje*). The towels are usually fringed.

CONCLUSION

The above survey lets us summarise that in addition to conveying their basic religious messages late medieval frescoes enable us to understand the wider cultural message of the period in which they originated. Reading and understanding these messages brings us closer to the spirit of the time – the Late Middle Ages.

We are, of course, aware that no illustration of an object, no matter how faithful it is, proves that the object really existed. In our search for the image of the past we may thus have come closer to what André Malraux called "the imaginary museum".

Fig. 35: Holy Sunday-Bathing, ar. 1455-1460, Crngrob (detail).

Sl. 35: Sveta Nedelja, ok. 1455-1460, Crngrob (detajl).

Santonino's description of his adventures at Prižank Castle reveals an interesting period custom. In the evening lord Georg Vend invited Santonino to share a bath with him to clean himself of the dirt from the long journey. A little later – and as Santonino interpreted it – "at the master's order" – the noble lady Barbara Flaschberger, the daughter of the lord of Flaschberg Castle and Vend's wife, aged twenty and extremely beautiful, entered the room. "After Santonino's initial objections, he

SLIKOVNI VIRI ZA PREDMETE BIVALNIH NOTRANJŠČIN NA SREDNJEVEŠKIH FRESKAH V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Slikovni viri pomenijo dopolnitev interdisciplinarnih raziskav predmetov, ki so bili v obdobju poznega srednjega veka del opreme bivalnih notranjščin. Tako iz njih ne spoznavamo le posameznih vrst predmetov, ampak tudi njihove različne oblike. To še posebno velja za pohištvo, s katerim nas slikovni viri seznanjajo prek različnih oblik klopi, stolov, postelj in zibelk. Poleg tega so slikovni viri skorajda edino gradivo, ki priča o dragocenem posodju iz tega časa. Kar zadeva namizno posodje in kuhinjske pripomočke, smo lahko primerjali nekatere izmed upodobljenih predmetov z ohranjenimi primerki: kozarce, steklenice, vrče. S številnimi drugimi predmeti, posebno lesenimi, takšna primerjava ni bila mogoča, saj se preprosto niso ohranili.

Pomen slikovnih virov lahko povzamemo z naslednjimi ugotovitvami: pomagajo nam dokumentirati in določiti značilne oblike predmetov, ki so se pojavljali v poznem srednjem veku; na osnovi upodobljenih predmetov je mogoče identificirati značilne oblike posameznih predmetov; slikovni viri omogočajo dokumentiranje predmetov, ki se niso ohranili v muzejskih zbirkah; za številne predmete pa nedvomno velja, da se jih je ohranilo bistveno več na upodobitvah kot originalnih predmetov.

Ključne besede: predmeti, bivalne notranjščine, slikovni viri, freske, Slovenija, pozni srednji vek

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FISCAL POLICY AND ECONOMY IN VENETIAN ISTRIA

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ABSTRACT

The article highlights the main social and historical circumstances that led to economic recession of Venetian Istria in the 17th and 18th centuries. A special emphasis is laid on the Venetian fiscal policy and revenue offices at the regional and communal levels and, based on the analysis of archival documents, a detailed presentation of revenues and expenditures of the regional revenue office and the communal treasuries of Piran and Koper, which were at the time considered the most important settlements in Venetian Istria. Findings confirm that restrictive fiscal policy had a negative impact on economic development and led to a higher extent of contraband trade in the region.

Key words: Venetian Istria, fiscal policy, economy, 13th-19th century

POLITICA FISCALE ED ECONOMIA NELL'ISTRIA VENETA

SINTESI

L'articolo evidenzia le principali circostanze sociali e storiche che hanno causato la recessione economica dell'Istria veneta nel XVII e nel XVIII secolo. Particolare attenzione viene dedicata alla politica fiscale veneziana e agli uffici tributari a livello regionale e comunale. Inoltre, sulla base dell'analisi di documenti d'archivio, speciale enfasi viene rivolta alla presentazione dettagliata delle entrate e spese dell'ufficio tributario regionale e alle tesorerie comunali di Pirano e Capodistria, considerate all'epoca gli insediamenti più importanti dell'Istria veneta. I risultati confermano che la politica fiscale restrittiva ha influito negativamente sullo sviluppo economico e ha portato ad un incremento del commercio di contrabbando nella regione.

Parole chiave: Istria veneta, politica fiscale, economia, secc. XIII-XIX

INTRODUCTION

During the period of Venetian supremacy from the mid 13th century to the mid 16th century, the Istrian peninsula experienced a period of fairly favourable economic trends. However, a comparison with neighbouring, Italian and today's Slovene and Croatian hinterland regions, shows that in the period from the mid 16th century to the early 19th century its northern, but most of all other parts, suffered from stagnation and even a recession of economic development (c.f. Darovec, 1996).

The formation of the economic structure of Istrian society was influenced by a number of factors. One of the most important is undoubtedly connected to general historical developments world-wide following the discovery of America and the consequent transference of main European commercial currents from the Mediterranean to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Although consequences of geographical discoveries did not have an immediate effect on the economic (in)stability of the Venetian Republic, the inability to adjust to the shifting economy resulted in crisis, triggered by military confrontations with the advancing Ottoman Empire on one hand, and on the other struggles for supremacy with neighbouring Catholic countries. In the 16th and following centuries, consequences of military success, but without any considerable territorial gains of a relatively small country, which at the time consisted of an area stretching along the Adriatic Sea and several enclaves in the Greek world, were felt not so much in the capital as in other regions, especially Istria. Continuous threats of military conflicts, Turkish irruption and in particular epidemics of infectious diseases, which due to the instability of circumstances were spreading after periods of poverty, left indelible marks on the Istrian economy and demographic trends connected with it (c.f. Darovec, 1997; 1999b).

In this period the Austrian monarchy started to privilege its ports of Trieste and partly Rijeka, forcing new commercial routes and imposing high taxes, which made traditional trade routes of the Austrian hinterland population transfer elsewhere. At the beginning of the 17th century, the once intensive commercial intercourse especially with Carniola, which in Venetian Istria, most of all Koper, Piran and Muggia, saw the arrival of as many as 300 to 1000 Carniolan horsemen a day, started to perish. Notwithstanding the inflow of new settlers, coming mainly from the Balkans, which in that period were under Ottoman domain, the decimated population of coastal Istrian towns and their immediate hinterland did not manage to recover economically to an extent which would allow them to adjust to modern economic trends with the introduction of manufacturing, innovative crafts, or new agrarian and non-agrarian products (c.f. Darovec, 2000). Even though newcomers brought freshness into the demographic and economic aspects,

their miserable economic position and reliance on agriculture and cattle breeding prevented modern economic initiatives to take off. It was only in the mid 18th century that the new population consolidated and integrated with the prevailing Istrian economy, and other customs. Nevertheless, the insistence of Istrian economy hindered rather than fostered progress, and traditional products suffered, such as salt, wine, oil and salt-fish, with the exception of the latter which was in surplus and more typical of northern Istria than in other parts. In this light, attempts made during the second half of the 17th century to introduce sericulture can also be considered as ineffective due to the fact that the population did not have enough means for the introduction of new cultures. These attempts were also obstructed by the state which despite declarative support and acts passed allegedly to stimulate sericulture was rather disinterested in investments of financial and material means into its development in Istria (c.f. Darovec, 1999; 1997a).

An important role leading to this state of affairs was played by Venetian fiscal policy. Not only all products for overseas trade first had to be shipped to Venice where they were burdened by various taxes. The insatiable state treasury, suffering from the absence of vast European markets, kept imposing higher and higher taxes on all products, both those generating profit as well as those for domestic use. The state was faithfully seconded by local authorities, in the Koper region the biggest impact being on wine production, and in the Piran region on salt and olive oil production (c.f. Darovec, 1998; 2000b; 2001).

FISCAL POLICY

Trade with hinterland Austrian regions was of indisputable importance for the economy of Venetian Istria, particularly its northern parts. Trade not reaching the standards of the 15th and 16th centuries, in the succeeding period, caused the general economic growth to decrease. However, are these economic relations to blame not only for the consequences of asymmetrical economic trends in comparison with other Venetian regions but also for economic recession, or can reasons for these state of affairs be searched for elsewhere?

Istrians should have found an ideal substitute for, or addition to, the lost Carniolan market in the Friulian environs. Above all, the two regions were part of the same state. In that period, Friuli reaped an abundant harvest of grain but lacked substantial quantities of oil, wine and salt, all of which were among traditional Istrian export products to hinterland Austrian regions, from where mostly grain was imported. However, coexistence within the same state proved to be more an aggravating than a facilitating factor for relatively normal economic progress. Taxes imposed on all Istrian products were substantially higher for export to Friuli than for export to

Austrian regions. Clear evidence of this can be obtained if one of the main Istrian export products is considered: olive oil, which was mostly transported by sea.

With the discovery of the New World, Venetian financial authorities became aware sooner than expected, of the loss of some of their main markets, and simultaneously, with the philosophical spirit of a modern country towards centralised administration they were imposing higher and higher taxes, striving for the highest share of profit possible. Beyond doubt, from this point of view the Venetian Republic was a superpower, which is also confirmed by a number of legal decrees as well as the introduction of manifold ways and forms of fiscal supervision. However, the latter brought more harm than good to economic growth, at least in Istria.

With decline of commerce with Austrian regions, Venetian economic policy was not channelled towards protection of Istrian economy, as recommended by its rectors. For example, by purchasing the surplus salt production in exchange for indispensable supplies of grain, which could only be bought at high prices: 3 to 4 lire higher than those paid on the Venetian market. The citizenry would undoubtedly have accepted the use of these measures of benevolence and would have praised the kind-heartedness of the authorities (Rel., 1663). Instead, the authorities ordered that the salt crystallising vats (*cavedini*) be abandoned. As a result, the stock of salt vats in Muggia, Koper and Piran decreased from 7,496 a year in 1594 (Prov., 1044) to 6,775 in 1762 (Rel.), i.e. by nearly 10%. Bear in mind, however, that the last figure dates from a period of increasing demand for Istrian salt and Venetian investments into the reconstruction of the Sečovlje salt works (Rel., 1754, 1763). These were made in the form of loans to the commune of Piran after certain salt funds had had to be abandoned.

Measures introduced by Francesco de Friuli, Istrian inquisitor, who, apart from the existing tax on wine bottling and the duty on wine exported to Austrian regions (*Terre aliene*) imposed an additional tax of 2 solidi on each urn of wine produced. This can be explained in the light of needs of a modern state striving for centralisation and balance at all levels of authority on its territory in order to enable more uniform progress on its whole-elongated territory by collecting the highest possible amount of budgetary means. In 1614 the podestà of Koper, Scipion Minio realised that the above mentioned tax contributed to an increase of the state revenue but added that as with all new things, the collection of this tax implied some problems. However, it was "important that this revenue too was designed for the public good" (Rel., 1614).

In their reports, several rectors of Koper expressed their concern over consequences the above mentioned attitude of Venetian authorities might bring, and of the fact that more and more profitable taxes were being withdrawn from the local treasury to be collected only by Venetian central offices, e.g. the oil tax in the second half of the 18th century. According to some Koper administrators, prior to the introduction of new regulations, everyone's interest in legal trade with the main products had been higher because the taxes had been both collected and spent at regional level, and the extent of tax evasion had supposedly been lesser. (Rel., 1784). However, greed made the central Venetian administration turn a deaf ear to all warnings. Instead, without leaving any relatively profitable tax within the jurisdiction of the region to allow it to recover, or furthermore, develop any productive activity, the senate decreed that half of the expenses in public administration in the Istrian capital be covered with half-yearly subventions,¹ which later were coming from Udine (Rel., 1795). Constant credit should also be allowed for the purchase of grain, when the debt for that product until the year 1780, had already amounted to 30,630 ducats (SM, 17, 251) and around the year 1771 to more than 64,000 ducats (Term. Biave) for the whole territory of Venetian Istria.

A similar process affected one of the main Istrian activities: fishing (c.f. Darovec, 1998a). Fish was taxed as soon as it got entangled into fishermen's nets, again when it was delivered to merchants, and again in fish shops. Another aspect of fishery as an economic activity that should be subjected to critical analysis is salt-fish. Fish could only be salted where it had been caught, where after the whole harvest had to be shipped directly to Venice which showed a huge demand for this renowned product, and where the whole state tax revenue was guaranteed collection.

How was the local market provided for? Several documents witness the absence of extensive crafts, merchants and sellers (*bottegghieri*) from Istrian settlements. If present, however, due to a lack of sufficient means and manufacturing, apart from rare production plants for clothes made of rough wool (*panni grossi; panni di grissi, e rasse*²), they were limited to the most important activities and production.

With reference to the latter, since the mid 18th century the Venetian Magistracy of Trade (*Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*) requested Istrian administrators, especially podestà and captains of Koper, to report any extensive commercial activities in Istrian towns, undoubtedly from the perspective of collecting new taxes levied on these activities. Nevertheless, as a rule the reports of the podestà of Koper are very much alike (CSM, 573, 12. 5.

1 ASV. SM, e.g. reg. 227 - 22. 8. 1761. In that period each half-yearly subvention amounted to 2,319 ducats.

2 Type of clothes made of rough wool. It probably was named after Raška, i.e. Serbia, where wool was imported from (c.f. Boerio, 1856, 554).

1747; 20. 9. 1758; 17. 12. 1758). They reported not to know a *dogana*³ as a form for the collection of duties and tariffs (*tariffe*) on imported products had ever been established in Istria. Some towns along the coast may have been giving the impression of a kind of prosperity but the countryside was stricken with misery and poverty which meant it would have been impossible to raise any tax revenue there (CSM, 573, 1747), they added. The few products imported by individual retailers were subject to low demand and low consumption, therefore no additional tax or impost, apart from the usual export and transit duty, was imposed on them. Hence, local merchants (*botteghieri*) purchased part of their goods within their own regions. These products were mostly oil, wine and salt. Other durable goods such as silk, cotton, different items of clothing, metal products, tobacco, gunpowder and even playing cards were supplied from Bolzano, Venice, Padua, Ceneda and Castelfranco. Other textiles, coming from the renowned *Linussi* factory, were purchased in Udine (*le tele rigate e poi colorate, e quelle altresì di lino, e bianche*; CSM, 573, 1758).

Purportedly, from time to time, ships coming from Romagna, Puglia, Dubrovnik, Albania and the Levant, laden with oil, cheese, tobacco, flax, animal skin, knitted fabrics, fruit, etc. called at Istrian ports. It occurred several times, though, that ships heading for Venice called at the port of Trieste to unload their cargo to the benefit of Venetian Istrians who could then purchase a number of products but not oil, which they usually had in abundant quantities. As a consequence, the thought took hold that foreign ships only called at Istrian ports if they had to unload grain or load salt (Rel., 1669; c.f. Gestrin, Mihelič, 1990).

As all Venetian products were subject to high and even double taxation, their prices were high. That is why Istrians preferred to go to Trieste to buy what they needed, especially animal skins, iron, medicines (*droghe*), soap, meat, products needed for boats, and construction material (*Fabbriche degli Edifizij*), such as pitch, tar and timber. Only a few were buying items from local merchants and those who did were buying them on credit. Consequently, local merchants' accountancy books were full of debit notes which would only be settled, if ever, after many years. After going bankrupt due to a series of debts, one of the main local merchants had to move to Trieste, the podestà of Koper, Valier reported in 1758. He added that in his opinion a *dogana* or *magacini* should be set up where goods coming from foreign countries could be stored and taxed. In opposition to his predecessors' opinions, he also claimed that the location of these *magacini* would

not present a problem, although he acknowledged that in Koper there were only five to six merchants, in addition to two or three others in the rest of Venetian Istria (CSM, 573, 17. 12. 1758).

In 1740, the podestà and captain of Koper, Pietro Antonio Magno, assured Venetian authorities that they should not fear thriving trade in Trieste because the port was dangerous for large vessels. However, in the decades to follow traffic in Trieste increased on a daily basis, "in all seasons and with our serfs coming there from as far as Dalmatia, the Levant as well as other places", the Koper administrator wrote in 1747 (CSM, 573). Trieste was not only modernising its port, reported Pietro Antonio Magno with dismay: "It seemed that development would slow down under the rule of Baron de Fin, but his successor *Governator* started with the expansion of the pier and introduction of other changes". He also added that Trieste attempted to set up a linen and textile weaving factory but that for the time being Gorizia managed to keep this activity in its hands. "Trieste took over much business in the skin trade, which was previously blooming in Koper. It also founded a wax factory where raw wax is modelled into products which are then sold in our towns" (Rel., 1740). Trieste became attractive to the Venetians themselves too, for example to a Venetian who in 1758, after having been expelled from Venice, moved to Trieste to set up a large soap factory. A single cauldron (*caldara*) could produce as many as 8 *miari*⁴ of soap and the Koper administrator was informed that shortly after another cauldron was due to be delivered from Vienna, this one with a capacity of as many as 24 *miari* of soap (CSM, 573).

Around the year 1789 Savio Battaglia too wrote a bitter report about Venetian fiscal policy in Istria, which in his opinion was a key reason for poverty in this region. He could not recollect any area surrounded by sea, where the fish trade could not develop. He said, "referring to fishery, there is no daily supply of fresh fish which is overburdened by taxes and a number of imposts, but only supply of fish intended for processing and conservation with respect to the type of fish and consumers' demands. In addition, numerous administrative mistakes cannot be unnoticed, if concerns expressed by the treasurer are considered: Istria suffered from poor supply of salt fish, but at the same time this was one of its trade articles, which gives proof of numerous administrative mistakes, made in view of the fact that it is normal to use your own product without having to import it from other provinces. Such an unusual phenomenon can only be explained with the fiscal system in use in the province. This is evident from two books of fiscal tributes to revenue offices in Koper

3 For rulebooks and information on "doganas", i.e. customs houses, c.f. CSM, 59-60; PSD, 54.

4 1 *miaro* corresponded to 1000 Venetian libre or 650 litres (c.f. Herkov, 1971, 40; 1978, 388; 1985, 475; Mihelič, 1989, 24-25).

and Rašpor, together with fiscal regulations of individual communes and other administrative units (feuds, author's note)" (L'Istria, 1847, 44-45, 180-183).

According to Battaglia's report, "there is no agricultural or artisan product not burdened by one or more taxes in the very place of production, with similarly disadvantageous taxes once it has become an object of trade, inside or outside the province". He also found that "in Istria there are twenty-four main customs duties paid into the state treasury, to which all taxes collected by communes and feuds should be added. These are imposed on the goods and not on their consumption which to a certain extent could alleviate direct state tax collection". With great surprise he added that despite an acute shortage of grain in the region, the revenue office of Rašpor levied a tax on grain, when, since 1764, the Venetian senate, had been sending necessary stocks of it to Istrian communes "as a form of loan which gradually, as a rule, becomes a gift".

Thus he argued that it was not surprising that Istrians were not striving to achieve a better economic standard with their work, "with the fiscal policy orientation preventing rather than fostering soil cultivation".

Following the above mentioned proposals, in the succeeding years Venetian authorities mostly took measures only within the framework of fiscal policy but little if nothing changed regarding the promotion of the economic development.

The first printed tariff list of taxes for the Koper revenue office, the central regional institution for tax collection for Venetian officials in Istria, was published in 1759. Shortly after a reform proposal by Girolamo Marcello, a second edition was issued in 1774, followed by two more versions printed in 1790 and 1795⁵ respectively. Despite that, Venetians managed to raise taxes on only 14 products or forms of rent, which in fact were few in comparison with those collected in Chioggia, where Venetians imposed more than 50 different taxes (DAPD, 1007) to yield a tenfold revenue.

A comparison between Istria and other regions and communes of the Venetian Republic contributing abundant tax revenue to the centre of the state produces a justifiably pessimistic portrait of the economic situation in Istria, which was often depicted even worse than it actually was. In the last quarter of the 18th century tax returns collected by the two Istrian revenue offices amounted to 44,500 lire, with the Buzet treasury accounting for only 3,177 lire (DAPD, 662).

REGIONAL FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

For a long time Venetian Istria saw the existence of a single – the Koper – revenue office which at the end of the 17th century was joined by the Buzet office⁶ and its modest contributions. In addition to regional revenue offices, every commune had its own treasury and its own communal treasurer. Communal statutes defined his rights and obligations. Therefore, rents or the so-called "regalie" and taxes were collected at least at three levels:

At the state level: direct *regalie* of individual communes and (obligatory) duties for import to and export from Venice;

At the regional level: for Istria by the Koper treasurer;
At the communal level.

As early as the 17th century, Venetians secured themselves the right to the direct use of tax revenues for two products: salt and oil. The podestà and captain of Koper was in charge of the supervision of production and tax collection, but taxes were collected by the Venetian office "*Magistrato delle Rason Vecchie*".⁷ In Venetian Istria two major contributors to tax revenue were the communes of Koper and Piran. Thus these rents comprised a tenth of the salt produced in Koper, a seventh in Piran, and the so-called new impost (*nuova imposta*) levied on salt exported to Carniola, imposed mostly on the citizenry of Koper, Piran and Muggia, and sometimes Izola (Rel., 1650, 7, 334/5). The duty on oil exported to Friuli was also under the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned Venetian office but a special permission granted Koper administrator the right to use the revenue it generated for his employees' salaries.⁸ Revenue yielded by tax collection at the regional level flowed into the Koper revenue office and covered some needs of Koper and other Istrian communes.

Officials of numerous Venetian institutions, depending on the nature of the trade article or product, collected direct taxes and customs duties at the state level. In many instances various export duties had to be paid for goods bound for other regions of the Venetian Republic. Istrian products were most often exported to Friuli and after paying duty in their own commune, merchants had to pay additional duties in the place of export. The so-called Venetian customs duty (*doana*) imposed on all products imported to and exported from the Venetian market ranged from 10 to 30%; in some cases it was even higher. Moreover, exporters and importers also had to settle indirect costs of various written permits issued by revenue office treasurers, chancellors

5 Tariff lists are kept in DAPD, the 1759 and 1795 editions are also kept in PAK. PA, Stampati.

6 SM. 1693. 17.9. How much tax revenue does the revenue office of Rašpor contribute: *dac frumento 1350 lire, Muda del Carso 175, animali minuti 495, Taverne del Carso collected by the Signoria.*

7 C.f. SM. 1657. 10. 3.

8 E.g. SR. 1659. 5. 7., 1666. 19. 6., 1669. 3. 8.

or other officials⁹ but mostly tax collectors, who played a central role in all production and commercial activities worthy of consideration.

In accordance with the tariff list endorsed on 10 June 1732, communal officials, or more precisely the chancellor to the syndic, charged the following amounts for any product a native or a foreigner wanted to export from Koper by sea or land (M/1158, 242):

- permit for a bundle or load of any kind 24 solidi;
- each bundle 4 solidi;
- permit for an ox 24 solidi;
- each ox 4 solidi;
- permit for honey 24 solidi;
- each barrel *barilla* 4 solidi;
- permit for cattle skin 24 solidi;
- each piece of animal skin 2 solidi.

Tax evaders were subject to a fine of 25 ducats or confiscation of goods, with half of the amount paid to the informant and the second half depending on the court's ruling.

TAX COLLECTORS

Tax collectors played a vital role, not only in guaranteeing a regular income to state and communal structures, but they also had to ensure a regular supply of foodstuffs, observance of fishing ground limits, observance of measures and quantities in the wine and oil trade as well as trade of other products. Last but not least, with fiscal regulations and obligations they acted as, in today's terminology, product quality-assurors.

Among the citizenry, tax collectors were often exposed to hatred; for aiming to achieve the maximum gain, they used to commit violations and use intimidatory methods to collect taxes. Legal helpers, among whom the so-called "bailiffs" who had the worst reputation, often assisted them. Tax collectors most often provoked the wrath of the citizenry if they raised higher taxes than legally defined, which was a very common occurrence. As a result, both communal and state authorities were obliged to issue a number of decrees to regulate their behaviour. However, in most cases much time had to pass before they trod on tax collectors' toes. In 1670, for example, Istrian communal administrators reported extortion of oil tax "from the poor" and two years later the same cause triggered citizens' uprisings in Koper (SM, 1670, 29. 11.; 1672, 17. 9.). But it was not until 1677 that the podestà of Koper, Zuan Gabriele Contarini issued a decree prohibiting to raise taxes by more than 6% higher than defined. Tax collectors had

been demanding tributes by as much as 10% higher ("*a ricever in recognizione delle loro fatiche ducati sei per cento, dalli dieci, che antecedentemente erano consueti in simili occasioni contribuirli*" ... Rel., 1677), and in 1679 (SM) there was a legal process against irregularities concerning the oil tax collection.

Nevertheless, this system of tax collection suited the authorities well, which is proven by documents expressing disappointment if this or that tax failed to be raised. Whilst in the late medieval period some taxes were leased or given as acknowledgements (*gratie*) for certain services, on the verge of the modern period taxes were leased out to the highest bidder. In case a tax failed to be leased, other methods were used. Occurrences that a tax was not collected because of shortage of tax collectors were rare, though not non-existent. In 1603, for example, the podestà and captain of Koper (Rel., 1603) complained that the tax on notary documents (*dazio istrumenti e testamenti*), one of the most important taxes of the revenue office, failed to be collected. After for some time in Koper the tax on bread failed to be raised, women bakers (*pannicogole*) became liable to pay taxes in accordance with the quantity of bread baked (SM. 1682. 29. 10). In other cases a tax collection supervisor was appointed. Thus, in 1691 the podestà of Koper appointed the *Governator*, chosen among commoners for his good reputation and experience, to oversee the tax levied on communal fishing grounds (*paludi*) (SM. 1691. 22. 3.). In such cases taxes most often came under the jurisdiction of a state¹⁰ or communal official ("*per conto pubblico*"; Rel., 1732). However, with his salary being assured and other obligations to fulfil, he was not motivated for tax collection.

Tax collectors were also obliged to meet provisions about methods of payment for taxes leased and with that tax collection, which sometimes yielded a good and sometimes a modest profit. In periods of famine or poor harvests, wars or epidemics tax lease was an extremely dangerous pursuit. In these cases leases of the same taxes were prolonged for long periods of time or payment in yearly instalments was granted, many times both.

An example of this is Vinciguerra Lugnan from Koper who in the year 1510 due to war and the prohibited organisation of the Rižana fair, did not manage to raise 400 lire for the lease of certain taxes. He was allowed to settle the debt within three years, and on top of that he was exempted from the payment of 15 ducats, "a sum equal to the loss he suffered due to the prohibited organisation of the fair" (SM. 1510. 20. 1. m.v.). In 1548

9 Chancellor to podestà and captain of Koper was entitled to 4 solidi for every covering letter, 1 ducat for receipts of taxes collected in Koper, 4 lire for receipts of taxes imposed on meat, salt and the tax "*mude*" (*datii mude pontis*), 3 lire for taxes on mills, 40 solidi for fish shops and shops selling oil, cheese, salt meat and fat, and 30 solidi for receipts of any other tax levied (STKP, 3, 7).

10 In the year 1762 (Rel.), for example, after it failed to be collected, the Venetian state office took a lease on the tax on tanned animal skin (DAPD).

Giovanni Antonio da Sal from Koper, who in the previous year took on the lease tax on taverns outside the city (*dazio delle taverne fabbricate fuori di quella città*), was allowed to postpone the payment of 400 lire he would have had to pay into the revenue office, because the Rižana fair did not take place (SM. 1548. 31. 12.). Until the free fair was established again in 1642, the Koper region had lacked this very important activity. Documents mention the fair as early as the second half of the 14th century (STKP, 3, 51; SMi. 1381, 5, 81) and which first took place near the source of the river Rižana (*in caput Risiani*) near St Mary's church (Darovec, 1990, 36).

In 1710 commercial routes were closed for sanitary reasons and as a consequence trade was made impossible, that is why Gio. Batta Ombrella, leaseholder of the wine tax, was exempted from paying his debt for that period of time (SM. 1710. 3. 12.). At the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries the Ombrellas were one of the most active families in taking out leases of various Koper taxes. As early as 1669, a member of this family ran as a candidate for the lease of the oil tax (SR. 1669. 21. 12.), in 1691 Pietro Ombrella for the wine retail tax (*Vino a spina*) (SM. 1691. 22. 3.), Gio. Battista Ombrella for the "*bezzo per orna del vino*" tax (SM. 1706. 31. 7.). The latter also took a lease on the tax levied on butcheries and fat¹¹ in Koper villages for a period of 4 years (*della grassa e beccarie delle ville*) for 2,600 lire, by 1,023 lire higher than the previous lease (SM. 1712. 23. 12.). In 1716 Gio. Batta Ombrella acquired the tax on notary acts, taverns outside the city, and mills (*istrumenti testamenti, osterie di fuori e molini*) for 12,000 lire for a period of 2 years (SM. 1716. 9. 1. m.v.). In 1711 Matteo Ombrella took out leases on taxes levied on bread, notary acts and taverns in villages for the amount of 5,000 lire (*dacio pane, istrumenti testamenti in osterie delle ville*) (SM. 1711. 23. 8.).

A reason for a postponement of tax lease payment could also be good references: for example, in the case of Nazario from Koper (*di Capodistria*), whose debt originating from the fish tax lease amounted to 700 lire, but upon the recommendation of the podestà of Koper he was allowed to settle his debt in 7 yearly instalments (SM. 1549. 15. 10).

However, not all debtors were looked at with a favourable eye. In 1661 Ottavio Pola as one of the referees for the wine bottling tax (*imbottadura vini*) owed 9,993 lire to the state. With regard to his numerous family and a general state of poverty he was allowed to compensate for the debt with his salt (SM. 1661. 29. 10.). A certain Zanesini, on the other hand, was impris-

oned and sent to a galley for having appropriated 6,520 lire from the little oil tax lease (SR. 1661. 4. 2. m. v.).

In some cases the commune proved to be a more efficient tax collector. In 1626, for example, the Koper administrator prided himself on having filled up the communal treasury with taxes levied on salt and fines which had been previously leased out but tax collectors had not settled them for years (Rel., 7, 295/6).

Apart from that tax collectors were also imposed other "social" obligations such as a tribute in candles (*torcia di cera*) gifted to the fraternity (*alla scuola del venerabile*) of their town's cathedral (SM. 1723. 2. 8.).

The economic structure of that time saw tax collectors as one of its indispensable units and they were present wherever there was any economic activity. They could be both promoters and obstructers of economic development of different branches but what bore most importance for the authorities was that they had and exercised limitless supervision of all activities. Without a tax collector's permission nobody could, for example, give, gift, sell or alienate in any way the salt produced (STKP, 1, 27; STPI, 633). Similar restrictions were imposed on other taxed products, depending on the specifics of various production and commercial activities. The only exception, the domain of communal officials, mostly *fonticari*, was the supply of grain which was under the jurisdiction of communal grain chambers (*Collegio delle Biave* or *Biade*), which many literary sources put side by side with communal "minor councils", inherited from the developed Middle Ages.

When yearly or long-term contractual obligations expired, auctions of tax leases were usually held in municipal lodges of individual Istrian towns. Tax collection and administration (*conduttore dei dazi*) was granted to the highest bidder. In compliance with a Venetian monetary office provision (*Deputati, ed Aggiunti sopra la Provision del Denaro Pubblico*) issued in 1794 (PAK. PA. Stampati, 2) eight months prior to the expiry of a tax lease, an auction had to be called. The provision was valid for all taxes which exceeded the value of 310 lire (50 ducats) per year. Auctions were held on three consecutive Sundays, and only on the last Sunday could the lease be granted to the highest bidder. All auctions had to be held aloud, and the lease had to be at least three and at most five years long. In that period, the latter was only valid for communal tax leases and although the provision stated above, emphasises that these were the usual methods of leasing out and managing taxes, although these varied considerably throughout the centuries.

11 Apart from fat, oil, butter and cheeses this tax comprises all dried meat products.

REGIONAL REVENUE OFFICE

Soon after the Venetian domain extended over north-western Istria, a central regional revenue office was established in Koper, headed by the councillor and treasurer or *camerlengo* (*consiliarius et camerarius Justinopolis*),¹² elected in the Venetian Great Council with the same procedure for the election of the Istrian podestà. With the exception of the podestà and treasurer of Koper, both elected among four candidates, other Istrian podestà and treasurers had only to run against one candidate.

Starting their term of office, the doge handed them the so-called commissions (*commissioni*)¹³ which defined their rights and obligations,¹⁴ with their main obligation being tax collection. For Koper, the establishment of a central fiscal body, apart from the appointment of administrators with the title of podestà and captain, which in the Venetian Republic, was only usually awarded to administrators of regional capitals (e.g. Udine), represented one of the most important steps to be made towards acquiring the status of a regional capital, which was formalised in 1584 with the establishment of the court of appeal. Other ways leading to the acquisition of this status, interrupted for several decades by the Koper uprisings in the year 1348, was the privilege of the right to appoint Koper citizens, as an expression of gratitude (*gratia*) for their exertions, for positions of podestà of Buzet, Oprtalj, Dvigrad and Buje in 1423 (STKP, 5, 6, 130), i.e. immediately after the conquest of these towns. Moreover, in 1435 Koper was granted the right to choose the treasurer among its citizens. Before this acknowledgement, the regional treasury had already been managed by two Koper citizens, Antonio Ingaldeo and Christoforo de Serenis. They had been appointed to these positions for having rendered services to the Venetian Republic, which was common practice especially until the first half of the 15th century.¹⁵ In 1435 their privilege was abolished by a doge's edict, and instead a regulation was enacted defining that the podestà and captain of Koper each year, following a proposal of members of the Koper Great Council, should appoint one of its members to the office of treasurer. However, similarly to the position of podestà in the above-mentioned Istrian localities, only a respectable Koper councillor could apply for this position. Further-

more, there were some conditions to be met: he was not allowed to be a debtor of the Venetian Republic, he had to be able to write, and he had to present guarantees (*bonam fideiussionem*)¹⁶ in the amount of 200 ducats for the office of podestà, and as many as 1,000 ducats for the office of treasurer. However, after his term of office had expired, for a period of three years the appointed treasurer or podestà did not have the right to stand for re-election either for the same position or that of rector in one of the localities mentioned. One of the purposes of the doge's edict also was to grant all Koper councillors the possibility to ascend to these prestigious positions (STKP, 5, 7, 130-132), which not only represented one of the ways to acquire a well-paid job but also prestige for the highest social class. Koper citizens, members of the communal council, could therefore run for positions of local officials and central positions in the region as well, which were otherwise exclusive domains of selected Venetians.

If this state of affairs was advantageous for the citizenry of Koper, it's another issue. In Koper, the majority of taxes flowed into the revenue office, i.e. regional (Venetian), office, and the minority into the communal treasury whose main obligation was to procure funds for the development of the communal infrastructure (road, bridges and building repairs) and for the economic needs of the city. Most of the income collected by the revenue office, on the other hand, was used to finance the administrative apparatus, not only in Koper but also in the whole region under Venetian rule. The situation in Piran was different, where revenue from taxes levied on the production of salt and fishery as well as other activities was collected by the communal treasury and used for communal needs. Thus, within the framework of the general Istrian situation, Piran was considered to be a rich and flourishing town, and Koper, the administrative centre, which could also be said to be a bureaucratic town.

Koper was considered as such also by the Venetians, seeing it as an excellent opportunity for providing working places for their noblemen. That is why, generally speaking, Koper was better provided for than Piran, despite the fact that it could count on lesser budgetary means. With the establishment of the previously mentioned court of appeal, the Venetians granted well-paid positions to at least two *consiglieri*, who apart from ju-

12 ASV. Segretario alle Voci. Universi (Misti), B. 3 (1383-1387), 25.

13 For commissions to Istrian rectors when starting their terms of office, c.f. Benussi's treatise (1887).

14 Commissione del doge Andrea Dandolo ai Consiglieri di Capodistria, 1343-54. ASV. Senato. Commissioni ai Rettori ed Altre Cariche (Inventory n.° 326, in the first two envelopes corresponding to inv. 339; what needs to be ordered: Collegio Commissioni "Formul a-ri"), Rett. B. 2, n.° 55. C.f. ASV. MC.

15 Until the emergence and empowerment of the rather oligarchic and repressive Council of Ten beyond doubt the most important magisterial body in the Venetian Republic, at the end of the 14th century (Maranini, 1927) acts issued by the Venetian Great Council witness a number of so-called *gratie*, i.e. conferences of lifelong functions to individuals in exchange for certain exertions in commerce, military service, etc.

16 Later the term *piezzaria*; *pieggaria* was used for these guarantees (c.f. Boerio, 1856).

dicial duties shared the 16-month term of office of the management of the revenue office (Leggi, 1683). All money collected in it had to pass through the hands of the vice-tax collector (*Vice Collettore*), while orders to pay were signed by the podestà (Rel., 1596, 7, 98). Notwithstanding these measures, numerous regulations were not observed and irregularities and frauds were committed. In 1604, for example, the podestà and captain of Koper reported that in connection with the revenue office he had to point out at least four issues:

1. Even if, for tours of inspection (*cavalcate*) rectors should have been granted daily allowances of 6 ducats, they were paid from 10 to 12 ducats; the podestà himself after his first tour was paid 58 lire (9.35 ducat) but after consulting the decree, he was contented with 6 ducats;
2. Councillors demanded cover for certain expenses from the "tenth for offices" item (*della decima di officij*) even though the Venetian Camerlengarie di Comun had already covered these expenses. This required an additional yearly sum of 108 ducats from the state budget;
3. In compliance with a commission (*commission*) the podestà should have been granted 32 ducats for every trip to his duties and back (to Venice and back, author's note). In the last two years, however, they charged 64 ducats, 32 ducats each way, which was also granted to councillors. This accounted for additional 96 ducats every 16 months; the podestà had this regulated and registered;
4. For extraordinary costs (usually travel) only *bollette* and not policies were issued; the podestà decreed a prohibition of the issue of *bollette* if the policies had not been recorded beforehand.

The report was undoubtedly written as a response to his predecessor's revision proposal, in which it was pointed out that many tax debtors leased real estate instead of paying off debts with money and then the treasury sold or leased back the same real estate to the same debtors. Hence, property was not lost and the real estate was only apparently paid for several times. Lodovico Loschi, for example, was *Vice Scontro* of the treasury and debtor of 9,000 lire. His real estate was put up for auction by the podestà but no bidder appeared, which is a piece of evidence for solidarity in terms of irregularities and frauds among Koper citizens. Despite this he managed to raise an income of 4,500 ducats for the revenue office (Rel., 1603).

The above-mentioned decree issued to limit irregularities in daily allowances and travel expenses of communal and state officials was obviously of no long-term avail. As early as 1633 the podestà of Koper reported that councillors committed other irregularities, demanding to be paid daily allowances and travel expenses in advance. This practice was more a rule than an exception and *Vice-Collaterale* of that time, for ex-

ample, prolonged his stay at military exercises and on this account "he could drag a ducat a day from the regional treasury" (Rel., 1633). Especially in the 17th and 18th centuries different officials working for a number of public financial institutions used whichever reason and excuse to, supposedly on official business, travel to Venice, turning this to their own private advantage. The Venetian *Magistrato degli Scansadori alle Spese Superflue* (magistracy for the prevention of superfluous costs) introduced a variety of measures and decrees to restrain these harmful habits of officials, such as a termination issued in 1777 addressing Venetian *Monte di Pietà* administrators (PAK. PA. Stampati), but all in vane. Despite high fines this practice remained present until the downfall of the Venetian Republic.

Irregularities committed by officials in public financial institutions were a frequent cause of appeals Istrian serfs made to the central authorities. It should not be forgotten that these events also led to many people's uprisings against state or communal officials (c.f. Pahor, 1972), whose frauds were considered to be a method for the exploitation of the poor, who had to often deny themselves food to be able to pay their tributes into the budgetary treasury (SR. 1675. 22. 2. m.v.).

In the 17th and 18th centuries the office of treasurer was again granted to Koper citizens due to the fact that councillors to the podestà supposedly were overburdened with judging and other duties performed for the Koper Magistrate. In 1735 the treasurer, Dr. Pietro Gisoni, deceased, was succeeded by Dr. Cristoforo Tarsia. The explanation of his confirmation for the office of treasurer, stated that the candidate was suitable for the position in accordance with the act passed in 1640. In compliance with this act, the candidate needed 5 years experience, and among his job duties he could also find the management of communal archival documents referring to land ownership along the border and frequent conflicting situations with neighbouring Austrian towns (SM. 1735. 21. 4.). In the mid 18th century count Cristoforo Tarsia from Koper (Rel., 1752) was considered to be worthy of praise for his duties performed as fiscal lawyer (*Avvocato Fiscale*), whilst at the end of the same century this position was taken on by another count, Francesco Tacco (Rel., 1773, 1784).

TAXES OF THE REGIONAL REVENUE OFFICE

Taxes levied on certain articles at the regional and local, communal, levels were often subject to changes. A key factor for defining the rate of taxation was the potential profitability of each economic activity. While in the first half of the 17th century the Koper revenue office, apart from land leases, lived on 22 taxes, towards the end of the Venetian domain in Istria there were only 14 taxes left. Despite that, with the collection of these the tax revenue expressed in lire almost doubled. How-

ever, the devaluation of the lira in comparison with the ducat needs to be taken into consideration even though taxes were always calculated in ducats, 1 ducat corresponding to 6 lire and 4 solidi, and to 8 lire since the mid 18th century.

In 1620, the podestà of Koper Bernardino Malipiero, only managed to raise 20,350 lire from 18 taxes because, in his words, with towns stricken by poverty after a period of wars, he could not collect 10 solidi levied on each urn of wine exported to Austrian regions from Motovun, Labin, Buje and Izola. Despite that he received 326 lire from Buje whilst Izola addressed the doge with a request for a postponement of tax settlement due to the poverty of the commune, after in the previous years it had been contributing 200 ducats per year into the revenue office (Rel., 1620). In the succeeding years Izola even lodged a complaint and by taking the Venetian commune to court it succeeded in being exempted from the liability to this tax (Rel., 1626). According to the same source, the revenue office suffered a period of crisis due to a shortage of contributions paid for second level civil disputes, all paid to the Istrian administrator (*Provveditore*). On top of that, the treasury was burdened by a number of unsettled debts, as debtors and their referees had died. Due to various accidents, other taxes too were reduced and as a consequence the podestà barely managed to raise enough money for his employees' salaries (Rel., 1626). In compliance with a termination, confirmed by the Senate in 1614, and orders issued on 5 January 1613 by Filippo Pasqualiga, *Provveditore General da Mar* (provveditore generale of the sea), the revenue from legal fines should have been collected by the Koper treasury, but the podestà of Koper¹⁷ complained that "not a single *quartino* was paid into this treasury".

Therefore it was Koper, in comparison with Piran, to pay a very high price for its status of capital. Although some budgetary means from the revenue office flowed into the Koper communal treasury, these together with some minor taxes collected directly by the communal treasury could not suffice for the needs of the central administrative and commercial town situated on the Istrian peninsula. Another interesting fact is that at least until the end of the 16th century almost all taxes of the revenue office were imposed on economic activities of Koper only, with the exception of almost negligible wine taxes paid by Izola and Buje. Referring to the tax revenue, in 1672 the podestà of Koper complained that in this town and territory the revenue office managed to raise only 2,000 lire per year from the "imbottadure" tax. "The tax is not levied on the whole province where not so much wine is currently produced. If this tax liability

were expanded to the whole region, it would yield a profit of thousands of ducats", he concluded with an optimistic note (Rel., 1672).

It was only in the first half of the 17th century that taxes of the Koper revenue office started to expand to other territories. The most important among these was the duty of 3 solidi per lira of oil exported to Friuli, valid for the whole territory of Venetian Istria. This so-called "big oil tax" soon merged with the "small oil tax", consisting of 2 solidi levied on each urn of oil. Although numerous Venetian podestà realised that twice, three, or even four times as much oil from Istria managed to elude taxation in manifold ways, particularly smuggling. The revenue it generated was so attractive to Venetian authorities that as early as 1749 they partly, and then completely in 1763, withdrew it from the Koper revenue office, channelling it directly into their own oil office.

A highly specific fiscal practice was imposed on the production and commerce of salt, which, especially in the 18th century Venetian authorities regulated separately with each commune, especially Koper, Muggia and Piran, by means of salt contracts (*Partito di Sali*) valid for periods ranging from 5 to 25 years (DAPD, 690), with the biggest share of the revenue flowing directly into the treasury of a special Venetian state body, the Salt Magistracy. Some podestà of Koper left no means untried to keep more of this money in the region, however, all in vain. Neither arguments put forward by podestà of Koper Francesco Boldu' in 1606 were of any avail. To increase the salt producers' and tax collectors' motivation to regularly pay their contributions, Boldu' suggested that the tax revenue collected from salt in Piran and Koper, purchased by the Venetian Salt Magistracy, as well as the new salt tax (*dazio della nova imposta de sali*) from Koper and Muggia amounting to approximately 3,000 ducats per year, should flow into the Koper revenue office and not into the Venetian Salt Magistracy (Rel., 7, 139).

Fishery as well, as one of the most important economic activities, was subject to direct taxation of Venetian authorities except when – in comparison with the total turnover produced by activities related to this economic branch – the income of the monopolised communal fish shop was poor. Apart from the tax levied on the Koper fish shop, in the second half of the 18th century the revenue office collected 5 other taxes, liable in the Koper territory only. These were taxes levied on butcheries in the city, butcheries in the villages, fat, taverns in villages, and the tax levied on bread, whilst in the 1880s, the duty levied on wine exported to Austrian regions was collected within the framework of the communal revenue (CAP. DAC, 1790). When in 1790

17 Rel., undated, according to a source in AMSI after the year 1633. However, according to quotations that the podestà managed to collect a tax return consisting of 3 solidi per lira, and that the organisation of a fair is mentioned, it can be concluded that the report was written after the year 1642.

Austrians completely prohibited the import of Istrian wines, this duty was abolished. Four taxes were levied on the whole province, and these were taxes on liquor, animal skin, notary acts and mills, while three taxes, called *cornaria* of Grožnjan, rents of Vodnjan and rents of Grožnjan were limited to the named towns (DAPD, 662).

With the exception of the wine tax, which like the oil, salt and fish taxes will be dealt with separately because of the centredness of these economic activities, in fact all previously mentioned taxes were quite low. The tables below contain data about revenue and expenditure of the Koper revenue office from the mid 16th century to the end of the 18th century. The first table also shows changes in taxation rates on various products.

From the tables and charts, it can be seen that some Koper taxes existed throughout all three centuries, with

the wine tax always contributing the highest share into the treasury.

The revenue of the Koper office did not considerably rise due to the withdrawal of its main revenue sources despite the introduction of new taxes, e.g. levied on tanned animal skin or liquor, rents comprising some other parts of Venetian Istria, such as the towns of Grožnjan and Vodnjan, the expansion of the liability for wine exported to Carniola, as well as the tax levied on mills in the whole province, and not only in the Koper territory, in the period from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Furthermore, if we take into consideration that after the establishment of the court of appeal and other central regional institutions, the administrative (and military) apparatus in Koper increased, it can be concluded that the Koper revenue office's income actually decreased.

Table 1: Revenue of the Koper revenue office (solidi and soldini rounded in lire).

Tabela 1: Prihodki kopske fiskalne komore (zaokroženi soldini in denariči v lire).

Tax in lire/year	1548 ¹⁸	1582 ¹⁹	1584 ²⁰	1762-72 ²¹	1779-87 ²²	1788-92 ²³	1795 ²⁴
Tax on taverns in the city	3100	4960	4820				
Tax on taverns in villages	850	1055	1314	2683	965	967	1000
Tax on timber	45	139	112				
Tax on oil	850	1806	1565				
Tax on fats ²⁵	125	256	172	1309	303	305	320
Tax on urn measures	550	268	268				
Tax (<i>imbot</i>) 2 solidi on each urn	1408	1240	1400	17228 ²⁶	/	11413 ²⁷	11413
<i>Livelli</i>	665	496	500				
Tax on butcheries in the city	1660	413	502	4041	4043	4043	2700
Tax on butcheries in villages	200	667	782	340	104	104	120
Tax "Valle S. Ellero"	132	130	134				
Legal fines ²⁸	212						
Tax 2 solidi per <i>secchio</i> of wine ²⁹		1783	1125				
2 solidi per <i>secchio</i> of wine Buje ³⁰		405	328				
2 solidi per <i>secchio</i> of wine Izola ³¹			503				

18 Rel., 6, 62.

19 Rel., 6, 399.

20 Rel., 6, 406.

21 DAPD, 662.

22 DAPD, 1007; however, in these years most taxes were public and only a part of them was leased that is why it is not very clear, a note in DAPD says, how many taxes were in fact collected, i.e. how much money flowed into the revenue office's treasury.

23 DAPD, 662. It should be noted that the taxes are quoted in the current currency (*valuta corrente*).

24 Rel., 10, 337.

25 *Ternaria* in the original. According to the Venetian office for oils and fats, c.f. Boerio; in 1582 quoted as the tax "*della grassa*", in the 18th century as the tax "*grassa città*".

26 Mentioned as the tax on *imbotadura e vino a spina*, which is a joint tax on bottling and retail.

27 In the source quoted for the year 1792; bearing a note that for 12 years the tax was collected by the communal treasury, which is also confirmed by other sources.

28 *Caratti*, c.f. Rel., 1580, 92.

29 Duty on wine exported to Carniola and other Austrian regions.

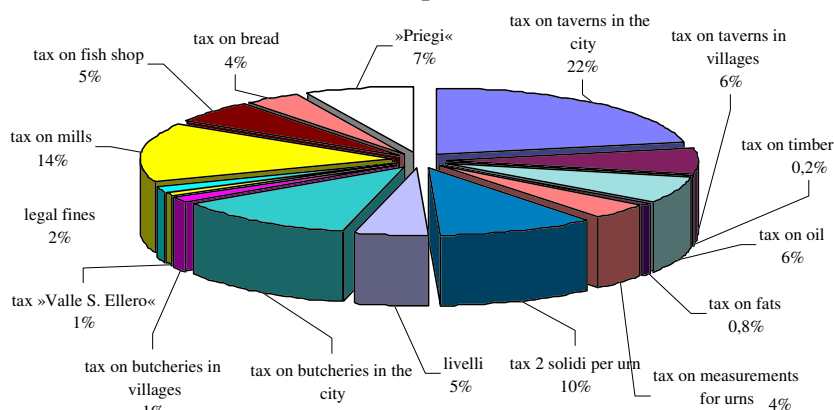
30 Duty on wine from Buje and its surroundings for export to Carniola and other Austrian regions.

31 Duty on wine from Izola and its surroundings for export to Carniola and other Austrian regions.

Separately classed taxes: ³² /year	1548	1582	1584	1762-72	1779-87	1788-92	1795
Tax on mills	2013	1985	1961		1515	1516	616
Tax on fish shops	770	1212	1208	1993	1969	1971	2100
Tax on bread	510	1178	1101	1915	2853	2854	3000
"Priegi" ³³	992	930	900				
Tax on salt Koper				3115			4100 ³⁴
Tax on salt Muggia				1082			1395
Tax on notary acts				7884	3939	3939	4500
Rents Vodnjan				4933	1944	1944	2040
Rents Grožnjan				7880	2465	2465	2422
Cornaria Grožnjan ³⁵				120	/	115	121
Tax on liquor				7148	1561	1563	820
Tax on tanned animal skin				51129	6550	6560	5000
Tax on wine <i>Terre Aliene</i> ³⁶				7010	1565	1565	
TOTAL	14,052	18,923	18,695	119,810	29,776	41,323	43,760 ³⁷

Other taxes in lire in the year	1795 ³⁸
Commune of Vrsar	7088
Tithes	1479
Legal fines	62
Magistracy for revenue office supervision	24952
Fines in <i>Monte</i>	53
Leases	18
Costs for galley convicts	1963
Extraordinary costs	1627
Costs for galley convicts, Udine office	2136
TOTAL	39,378

Tax share in the Koper revenue office 1548



Graph 1: Tax share in the Koper Revenue office (1548).
Graf 1: Delež dacev v koprski fiskalni komori (1548).

32 In the year 1582 these 4 taxes were assigned to the Venetian office *Officio sopra le Camere*.

33 Paid by villages at carnivals and on San Zorza.

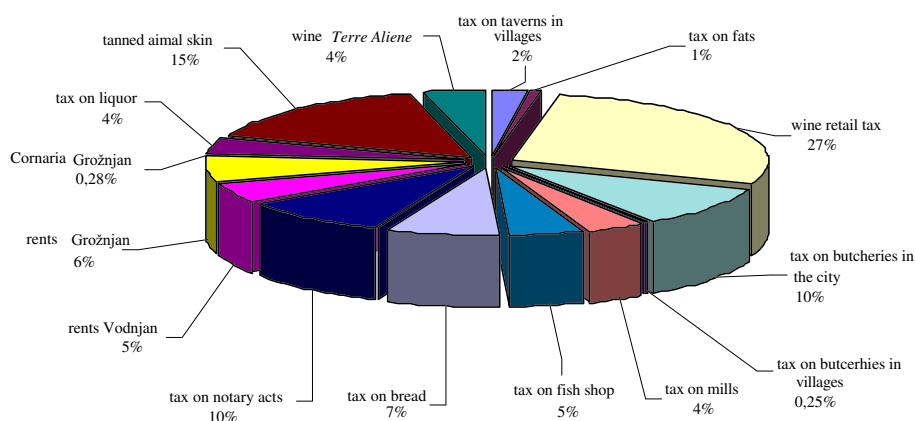
34 This time *Nuova imposta sali* for Koper and Piran (c.f. Darovec, 2001, 77).

35 "Cornaria" rents of Grožnjan refer to a wooded area (described in Capitola Daza, 1790 and 1795), where animals were pastured but villagers were not allowed to use this area without a leaseholder's permission.

36 Duty of 10 solidi on urn or 2 solidi on secchio of wine exported to Austrian regions, valid for the whole province (c.f. Darovec, 2000b, 520-522).

37 Total sum in the source = L. 83.137:16.6, but here divided into existing items; taxes collected after this year are shown in the table below.

38 Rel., 10, 337.

Tax share in the Koper revenue office 1788-92**Graph 2: Tax share in the Koper Revenue office (1788-92).****Graf 2: Delež dacev v koprski fiskalni komori (1788-92).****Table 2: Expenditures of the Koper revenue office (rounded in lire).****Tabela 2: Odhodki koprške fiskalne komore (zaokroženo v lire).**

Expenditures/year	1582	1795
Podestà salary	891	
Treasurer and <i>castellan</i>	1123	
Captain of Slavs	1240	
Employees' salaries		21743
Captain Tiburtio Valmarana	744	
Captain Antonio Lugnan	496	
Soldiers' wages		9458
Municipal doctor	744	
Regular costs	2523	119
Various costs		547
Extraordinary costs	1996	3432
Additional extraordinary costs		1669
Prison maintenance costs		3906
Costs of galley convicts		1908
Side costs of galley convicts		3839
Public institution maintenance costs		874
Two bombardiers	818	
7 officials	1042	
Regional Captain (Pasenatico)	620	
Competition at St. Nazarius and Rižana fair	372	
2 cavalrymen	384	
Bailiffs' tours of inspection (Cavalate)		3539
Podestà tours of inspection (Visite)		5725
Rifle practice		276
Division of income from fines		63
Limitations		3411
Municipal teacher	227	
4 municipal judges	194	
Salaries of special employees		6824

Expenditures/year	1582	1795
Employees		14700
Preaches during Lent and on Advent	248	
Revenue office accountant	298	
Festivity at Shrovetide	155	
Bombardiers	180	
Vicars of the Palace and Castello	93	
Charities	93	395
4 bundles (<i>torze</i>) of candles for the church	38	
Lease (near the Klaris monastery)	25	32
Weapons for rectors and treasurers	31	
2 Vice-domini	90	
2 municipal supervisors (<i>soprastanti</i>)	50	
Wine assessment costs	194	
4 justiciars	84	
4 captains	149	
Drummer of the Captain of Slavs	149	
3 <i>contestabili</i> in villages	192	
2 <i>castellans</i>	74	
Revenue office adjutant	74	
Municipal announcer	155	
External announcer	50	
Municipal accountant	149	
Knight	50	
Vice-knight	74	
Drawbridge drawer	74	
Municipal doorkeeper	37	
Weapon warehouse keeper	50	
Other		36
TOTAL	16,209	83,138

Table 3: Revenues and expenditures of the Koper revenue office according to other sources (in lire).**Tabela 3: prihodki in odhodki koprške fiskalne komore po drugih virih (v lirah).**

Year	Revenue	Expenditure
1559	11155	15737
1560	10714	12171
1579	14-15000	
1596	27900	29140
1598	27534	
1603	27900	
1606	31000	
1614	27900	24800
1620	21936 ³⁹	
1621	24800	higher
1627	26542	
1642 ⁴⁰	20439:11	33936:17
1644	+3100 ⁴¹	
1650	13000	
1652	18600	
1654		20000
1659	16988	32240
1669	50000	80000
1670	78300	78086
1672	93000 ⁴²	128000 ⁴³
1678	43400	
1727	86720	
1748	76000 ⁴⁴	
1762	43400	72540 ⁴⁵
1771	+4782 ⁴⁶	
1777	42194	
1795	83137:16:6	83137:16:6

As a rule, in the 17th and 18th centuries expenditures of the Koper revenue office outweighed its income. The podestà of Koper tried to compensate for the deficiencies with revenues from other taxes, mostly from the oil and salt taxes. The table below shows revenues and expenditures of the Koper revenue office according to other sources (Rel., SM, SR), mainly with reference to approximate estimates of the total value of revenues and expenditures. However, it should be noted that at least since the first half of the 16th century (c.f. Rel., 6, 61-62)

in all public financial institutions the so-called book-keeping by double entry was in use (c.f. Braudel, 1989, 2, 259-263). Bookkeeping was regulated by various decrees or by the founding acts, as was the case of *Monte di Pietà* pawnshops and savings banks. Whilst at first, entries were recorded (*manuale* or *giornale*) in chronological order, the ledger (*quaderno*) allowed a thorough insight into revenues and expenditures and total balance between them. If the difference between the number of debit and credit entries was not nil, there would be a mistake to be found and corrected.

KOPER AND PIRAN TAXES

Therefore, where did the means for salaries of communal officials and the maintenance of the Koper communal infrastructure come from? Numerous podestà and captains of Koper reported that taxes flowing directly into the communal treasury were extremely modest. In 1598, one of them complained (Rel., 6) that the commune was poor, and that its only tax revenue was generated by the tax "*mude*" and "*sprocanarie*" (assessors; wine, oil and salt measurers, etc.). This yielded an annual profit of 2,355 ducats, with 2,000 earned from leases of 100 salt vats (*ha cento cavedini de saline*), the only ones at the disposal of the commune. This assertion is confirmed by a fragment of the communal treasury book for the year 1568 when treasurer Tiso Lugnan managed to raise only 2,080 lire for the communal treasury, all collected from the tax "*mude*" (M/1033, f.20-36).

Podestà Giovanni Francesco Sagredo described that communal budgetary means were spent paying the doctor, surgeon, teacher and other employees, for the maintenance of the palace and employees' houses, the maintenance of roads, bridges and other public areas, when these costs had not been covered by the revenue office. He also added that in cases of extraordinary expenditures additional contributions were to be paid (Rel., 6, 106). From 1627, the podestà confirmed his findings, adding that in the Koper judicial district (*Regimento*) the commune earned income also by means of legal fines. However, from 1642⁴⁷ the podestà com-

39 Revenue from 18 taxes out of 22.

40 C.f. footnote 17.

41 Higher by this much.

42 ASV. SR mentions that the revenue amounted to 198,707 lire from taxes and "ri scossione del denaro'di libera ragione".

43 Corresponding to 20,645 ducats. He continues mentioning extraordinary costs.

44 Managed to cover all costs and yielded an income of 84,000 lire for public treasuries.

45 Every six months the Venetian Republic compensated for the loss with a deposit of 4,638 ducats (in Rel., 1764, the podestà of Koper explicitly mentioned that every six months 2,319 ducats ("*valuta corrente*") were deposited).

46 The revenue office raised the annual revenue by 4,782 lire ("*valuta corrente*") (Rel., 1771).

47 C.f. footnote 17.

plained that fine collectors became so indolent that many fines had not been raised and had subsequently become not collectable. Only with the help of the revenue office, municipal fraternities (*luochi pii*) and the collection of the tax of 3 solidi per lira (of oil) did he manage to cover some debts, pointed out this rector of Koper. In the year 1670 too podestà of Koper reported (Rel.) that the commune earned income from salt, taxes and fines, "but expenditure still exceeds revenue and creditors are becoming impatient". Despite the unfavourable financial conditions of the Koper communal treasury, the Venetians placed additional burdens on it, for example, the payment of the auction called for the choosing of a supervisor of construction work of public institutions, which actually was among the obligations of the Istrian sanitary supervisor (*Provveditore di Sanità in Istria*). Despite that these costs needed to be covered from the revenue yielded by two communal taxes, *muda* and legal fines (*condane*), as decreed by the Venetian senate (SR, 1673. 7. 12.).

A very interesting means for raising taxes is undoubtedly the Koper tax on manure (*letame*). This tax too was leased out at auctions for a period of three years. Every evening at dusk, only the tax collector was allowed to collect manure from the main city squares, i.e. *Ponte grande* and *Ponte piccolo*, where commercial intercourse between Carniolans and the inhabitants of Koper was taking place. Collecting the manure of mostly pack animals, the tax collector had to be careful not to move or damage the city pavement, nor was he allowed to scatter straw or other dry grasses to scoop manure more easily. A chapter from the year 1563 referring to this tax also defined that the profit would be collected with the purpose of purchasing 11 water cisterns in 11 municipal districts (STKP, 5, 33, 156). Besides its ecological and economic orientation this measure gives additional evidence of constant commercial intercourse with Carniola. According to entries in communal accountancy books of revenues and expenditures for the second half of the 18th century (M/1057; M/1061, 136), inhabitants of Koper were taking leases on this tax at least until 1794, when it generated 134 lire.

With taxable products and activities changing, communal taxes were altered too, increasing on a yearly basis. In the middle of the second half of the 18th century, they brought relevantly high revenue to the communal treasury while from the mid 16th to the mid 18th centuries annual revenues varied from 2,000 to 4,000 lire. This reflected the general state of affairs of economic trends in northern Istria in that period. For that

reason especially the striving of the inhabitants of Koper to bring back to life the municipal *Monte di Pietà* is understandable. Apart from the *Fontico* this was the only institution managed by members of the communal council, which allowed them to cover various costs and obligations but also misadministration and turning their duties to their own advantage at the expense of the savers (c.f. Darovec, 1999a; Darovec, 2000a).

While the main accountancy books of communal revenues and expenditures for the second half of the 18th century have been preserved (M/1057; M/1061), only sporadic data are available for the total value of communal income and leases of individual taxes for previous periods. This is shown in the table below.

Table 4: Sporadic data about the height of individual communal taxes (in lire).

Tabela 4: sporadični podatki o višini posameznega komunskega daca (v lirah).

Year	Salt works	Muda/ Measurements	Salt measures	Fines
1554		1200 ⁴⁸		
1559		2250 ⁴⁹		
1598	12400	2201		
before 1626	744			
1626	2170	1860		
1669				200
1673		1140 ⁵⁰	260 ⁵¹	

Income on measurements (*sprochanarie*) was earned by measuring various foodstuffs or products, for which prescribed weights and measures, kept by communal *justiciars*, had to be used. Turning over the business to their successors, the minutes had to contain an explicit entry confirming that communal weights and measures were handed over too, as was done in 1723 by one of justiciars, Zuanne della Corte, "for his office and on behalf of his colleagues" (M/1115B, 123):

4-ounce scales (*Quattro Stadiere* (c.f. Boerio Staliera) *Onzarirole*),
big copper scales (*un Balanzon di rame*),
one iron *brazolaro* (*passetto – canna* (double measure *passetta*) – perch,
one copper bucket (*Un secchio di rame*),
one libra and half a libra wooden measure for rice,
one libra, half a libra and a quarter of a libra copper measure for oil;
one *brenta*,

48 1 solidus for export.

49 From two taxes, the tax *muda* and tax on assessments.

50 M/570, 114.

51 M/570, 113.

one libra and half a libra copper measure for wine,
one iron seal.

Other rents of the commune of Koper in the mid 18th century (M/1057, 388):

of the field in *Campo Marzio*,
of the land in *Campo Marzio*,
of the pantry, called *Panataria*,
rent of the premises below the atrium (*sotto l'Atrio*),
shipyards in Bošedraga (*Squero in Bosedraga*),
business premises for oysters below the *Gasello*,
of butcheries leased to:

- Pietro Pellegrini,
- Simon, Contestabile,
- Nicolo' Pellegrini,
- Giacomo Gregoretto,
- Isepo Leporini.

income from the regional revenue office:

taxes:

- on fishing grounds (*paludi*),
- manure (*ledam*),
- salt fish,
- fruit.

leases:

- D.^{no} Lorenzo Palese,
- D.^{no} Alessandro Cecconi,
- Ambrosio Padovan,

salt works,
contributions of fraternities for the public preacher,
ferry to Trieste.

Apart from the above mentioned taxes and rents, the commune acquired modest revenue from the taxation of individual Koper inhabitants, as is witnessed by written records dating from the 15th century on (AMSI, 11, 196-202; M/1035; M/1071-1075), which are very interesting for the research of Koper population structure. Revenue was yielded on the account of several rents, the above-mentioned ones date back to the 18th century (M/1057, 388). Besides tributes paid into the revenue office listed under the item "podestarie and assessments (of wine)" (*Podesteria et de Pregghi*),⁵² which in the 18th century amounted to 200 ducats (SM, 1713. 31. 8.), villagers also had to pay to the commune regular annual tributes in timber used for the maintenance of the Koper bridge. As early as the 16th century these were changed into contributions of money and in 1691 they amounted to 92 lire and 2 solidi (APP. 20, 277). Obligations of villages towards the Koper captain of Slavs (*Capitaneus*

Schlavorum) were soon changed into money contributions. These had to be paid at the festivity of the Assumption (15 August), Easter, St. Martin, Christmas and Shrovetide, for the Rižana fair, which was what the Koper fair was called as late as the 18th century, even if at that time it was not held along the Rižana any more, but in the centre of the city. Each village was obliged to pay contributions to the Koper captain of Slavs at each village fair, and a special tariff, calculated on the basis of the tribute in hens and wine, was raised by the captain of Slavs on behalf of the podestà of Koper (M/1174, 74-91).

A similar situation could be observed in Piran, but with more substantial fiscal revenue than Koper. This commune was better provided for. In Piran, the production of salt and fishery yielded enviable revenue, but despite that, captains of Rašpor, in charge of a yearly review of public finance in Piran since the year 1610, often came across irregularities, abuse of office, and frauds committed by Piran administrators of public means, particularly those coming from the communal treasury, *Fontico* and *Piran Monte di Pietà* pawnshop (c.f. Pahor, 1972). Fewer remarks about the management of Piran can be found in reports of the podestà and captains of Koper who at the end of the 18th century, apart from the supervision of bombardiers and *cernide*, cultivation of olive trees, production of salt, and measures for the prevention of contraband trade, were also responsible for soap and tobacco (Rel., 1795).

Communal revenue of Piran, personal as well as other burdens, have already been dealt with (Pahor, 1972, 60-70), as has a detailed analysis of revenue and expenditure of the Piran communal treasury at the beginning of the 17th century (Mihelič, 1991, 94) and the first half of the 18th century (Morteani, 1886, 119; Pahor, 1972, 238). If compared to Koper revenue, it can be noted that methods of taxation used by the Piran treasury resembled those more common to the Koper revenue office practice, than those used by the commune of Koper. Chapters dealing with revenue-generating taxes in Piran, witness these similarities, as well as differences in methods and rates of taxation:

A list of tax regulations of the Piran communal treasury 1588-1791 (LD):

- Tax on butcheries (*Datio della Beccaria*), 1558
- Tax on oil presses (*Capitoli di Torchi registriati nel fine del L.(ibr)o T della Spl. Coita in questa Can.c*), 1557
- Tithes on goats (*Capitoli per le X.me d'i Agnelli*), 1589
- Fishing grounds in Sečovlje (*Peschiere di Sizzuol*), 1589

52 C.f. Boerio: *Pregiare, stimar, Preziar*, that is assessment. This tax can be found in the revenue office's income list for the 16th century.

- Tax on shops (*Capitoli del Datio della Messetaria tratti dal fin del L(ibr)o X.*)
- Tax on (baker's) ovens (*Capitoli delli forni tratti dal fin del L(ibr)o X.*)
- Tax on lime (*Capitolo del Datio della Scaglia tratti dal fin del L(ibr)o X.*)
- Fishing grounds in Fažan (*Capitoli delle Peschiere di Fasan*)
- Tax on oil presses (*Capitoli Torchi*), 1596
- Supplement to the tax on fishing grounds in Sečovlje (*Regolatione sive dichiarazione et Aggiunta ali Capli delle Peschiere sive Paludi di Sizziole*), 6. 9. 1620
- Tax on oil presses (*Capitoli Torchi*), 1600
- Supplement to the tax on oil presses (*Regolation et Aggiunta Capitoli Torchi*), 1646
- Tax on butcheries (*Dacio della Beccharia*), 30. 11. 1611
- Tax on weights and measures (*Dacio delle Misure detto il Dacio Piccolo*), 27. 3. 1612
- Tax on fishing grounds in the Savudrija karst (*Capitoli delle peschiere sive aque del Carso con li quali sono state vendute al pub. Incanto*), 1624
- Tax on women bakers (*Pancogole, Conduttori de forni, Calamiere per il Pane da vendersi*), 4. 3. 1780
- Tax on fishing grounds in Sečovlje (*Peschiera di Sizziole*), 22. 7. 1780 and 4. 8. 1791

While revenue in the commune of Piran was reported to have increased in the second half of the 18th century, according to reports written by the podestà of Koper, revenue in the commune of Koper remained at the level reached in 1777, which can be seen in the table below. The revenue of the Koper communal treasury only recorded a leap in the year 1781 on account of 8,749 lire, which in accordance with a Venetian senate resolution were received by the treasury for repairing public institution buildings.

Table 5: Revenue of the Piran communal treasury.

Tabela 5: prihodki piranske komunske blagajne.

Tax in lire	1604 ⁵³	1727 ⁵⁴	1737 ⁵⁵
Tithe of the Savudrija karst	1610		
Tithe on lambs	375		
Meadows	583		
Fishery Sečovlje	8400	10502	
Fishery Fažana	910	2066	
Tax on fish	1960	3507	2506
Seventh of salt	12000		
Oil mill "di Marzana"	680		
Oil mill "di sopra"	570		
Oil mill "di mezzo"	610		
Oil mill "piculo"	300		
Bakery "di Marzana"	184	1842 ⁵⁶	
Bakery "della Ponta"	200		
Bakery "di porta d'homo"	101		
Tax on baking bread	113		
Shipyard "di Marzana"	114		
Rent of Sečovlje tavern	126		
Tax on weights and measures	102		
Tax on wine	210	4292	
Tax on retail	321		
Tax on shops	29		
Tax on butcheries		696	738
Wine and bakeries			4218
Fishing grounds and ovens			6166
Other		3421	
TOTAL	29498	26326	13629

53 Mihelič, 1991, 94.

54 Morteani, 1886, 119.

55 Pahor, 1972, 238.

56 Tax on 4 bakeries.

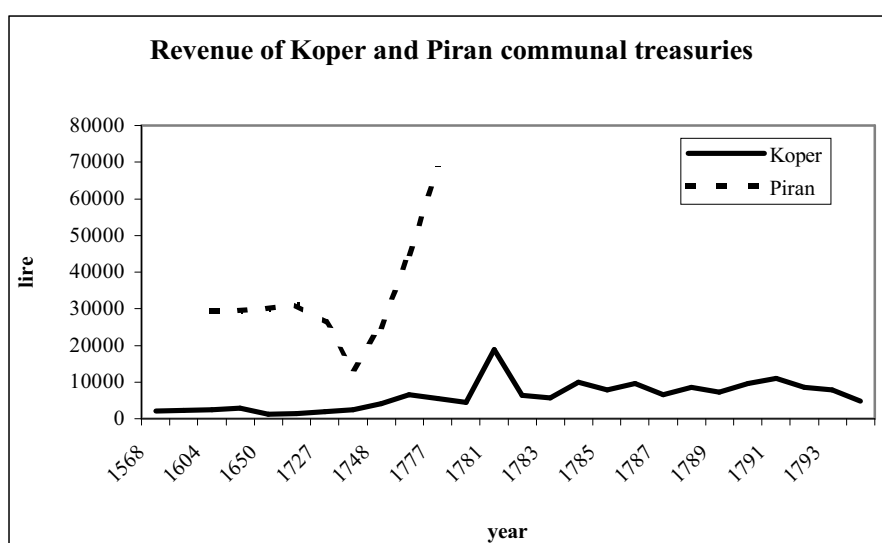
Table 6: Revenue of the Koper and Piran communal treasuries (in lire) (Rel.; M/1057; M/1061).**Tabela 6: prihodek koprške in piranske komunske blagajne (v lirah) (Rel.; M/1057; M/1061).**

Year	Koper	Piran
1568	2080	
1598	2355	
1604		29498
1642	2790	
1650	1240	
1663		31000
1727		26326
1737		13629
1748	4109	
1768	6642	
1777		68200
1780	4527	
1781	18898	
1782	6365	
1783	5756	
1784	9883	
1785	7875	
1786	9600	
1787	6588	
1788	8592	
1789	7246	
1790	9540	
1791	10944	
1792	8475	
1793	7805	
1794	4847	

A quite clear division of revenues and expenditures of the Koper communal treasury is offered by the statement of accounts dating from the year 1748. Compared with a similar balance from the year 1768 (M/1057, 383-6), it shows a notable increase of the tax levied on the ferry sailing to Trieste: in 1748 the annual revenue generated by this tax amounted to 563 lire but in 1768 it rose to 2400 lire. As in this year the revenue was higher also due to an increase in traffic, tax collector Zuanne Suban paid an additional sum of 600 lire yielded by this tax (M/1057, 383-385). The above mentioned statement of account is also made interesting by a list containing a plethora of taxable activities taking place in the Koper of that time, e.g. the shipyard in Bošadraga and oyster production. Moreover, it allows a thorough insight into the numerous administrative operations, and last but not least, exchange rates of various currencies.

TAXES AND CONTRABAND TRADE

With regard to main Istrian products, since the end of the 16th century official data do not show significant increases in the production of salt, oil and wine. The only exception among these activities was fishery, which mostly due to the harvests of fish in Rovinj recorded an increased production of salt fish. And, as mentioned before, another increase in tax revenue worthy of consideration was that generated by the tax levied in Koper on the ferry sailing to Trieste. However, higher taxes and various repressive legal provisions limited trade both within the Venetian territory and with neighbouring Austrian regions, particularly Carniola, and thus did not raise fiscal revenue. On the contrary, they lowered it.



In the second half of the 18th century, a sizeable share of Austrian money surprisingly appeared in the economic currents in Istria, which Venetian monetary institutions (*Deputati, ed Aggiunti sopra la provision del dinaro pubblico*) fought against throughout the whole period but to no avail. Istrian rectors often complained that all financial institutions were crammed with Austrian copper *petizze*, which made it almost impossible to find any Venetian money in the region. In 1766, in order to clean some financial institutions 200,567⁵⁷ lire of Venetian money was sent to Istria by the Venetian senate in exchange for the Austrian money. "This invasion of *soldoni* causes huge damage to our trade. They are overvalued, their value being twice that of copper. Do something, take legal steps, to remove these *soldoni* from our province," Koper administrator implored (SR, 23, 277). Despite this, in 1777, the rector of Koper reported that the province was overflowed with approximately a million ducats of Austrian money, which had neither been driven away by official devaluation from 30 to 29 solidi⁵⁸ nor by repeated prohibitions to use it in trade.⁵⁹ "Imperial solidi are the only means of payment in the Province. All *Monte di Pietà* and *Fontico* have been infected with high sums of Austrian money, which is without real value. People in Gorizia and Rijeka were advised by Austrian authorities that they can only make profit with their own money, that is why they are bringing it to Istria and exchanging it at a higher value," Koper administrator Antontio Dolfin complained in 1777 (Rel.).

The flow of events was inverse to that in the 16th century when in Carniola, a different, more favourable exchange rate for Venetian money developed than in other Austrian regions. Vilfan (1987) defines this phenomenon as a formation of specific Carniolan money within the Austrian territory, while in the 18th century, the process represented the formation of a specific Istrian currency value of the Austrian money within the borders of the Venetian Republic.

Where did Istrians get so much Austrian money if all surplus of their main products – with the exception of wine, subject to particularly high taxation rates for export to Carniola – had to be sent to Venice, from where then it was shipped all around the world by Venetian merchants? Could so much be earned only with wine and a couple of hundreds of urns of oil which they were allowed to export to Carniola, or maybe with salt, most of which officially first had to be offered to the Venetian Salt Magistracy and what was left to the communes, or with commercial and artisan articles which did not suf-

fice for local use let alone for export? The only plausible explanation that can be offered, is that they provided for their humble survival means by smuggling everything from fruit, silk, oil, wine, salt, fish, etc. Since every activity not subject to at least the export duty was considered as contraband trade, and as has been noted earlier, only low amounts from this impost were managed to be collected, and could not therefore, justify the existence of so much Austrian money in the region. This is also confirmed by numerous reports of Venetian rectors.

"All small trade is connected with this money and the reason for this is that most trade is first linked to Trieste and only then to Venice," Koper administrator found out in 1764. He added that "wine and silk represent a minor share of the trade while in Trieste, high quantities of salt are sold, kept in warehouses, and most of this salt has been smuggled by sea." Needs of the ports of Trieste and Rijeka for salt were immense. Besides the salt produced in Istria and locally they also had to import salt from elsewhere, mostly from the Kingdom of Naples (Rel., 1725).

Although at least in the last quarter of the 18th century, they strove for the reintroduction of land routes to Trieste to foster controlled trade with Venetian Istrian towns, particularly Koper. In the words of a Venetian podestà "the only settlement in the region deserving to be referred to as town", the majority of commercial and particularly contraband trade routes was connected with the sea. Venetian rectors complained an infinite number of times that two "*feluche*" did not suffice for efficient supervision at sea to stop this dirty business, and in addition to that they were so clumsy that smugglers noticed them from a distance, and avoided them (c.f. Rel., 1774, 1780, 1795).

Supposedly, this caused damage at several levels. In his report dating from 1784, the podestà and captain of Koper ascribed great importance to Istrian oil as a form of public *regalie* on account of Carniolans. However, it could only be charged "when it is unloaded in our capital ... Due to more convenient prices, a more comfortable journey, more reliable and faster contracts, a major part of this oil ends up in foreign ports, particularly in the near-by Trieste. The phenomenon has become so extensive that not only the vile intrigues of experienced smugglers are to blame, but also illegal behaviour of those whose only duty is to condemn and persecute them. The worst part of this is that a share of this oil comes to Austrian Friuli and from there it follows underground contraband routes to reach Veneto or neighbouring towns where it is sold at a price much

57 ASV. SR, 1766. 22.1. m.v. In public treasuries of communes, *fonticos* and *luoghi pii* in Istria there are copper *petizze* amounting to 200,567 lire.

58 ASV. SM, 1761. 28. 5. Captain of Rašpor was ordered to publish a decree of 14. 5., devaluing the *petizze* to 29 solidi and other foreign currencies (reg. 227, c. 48, c.f. c. 65 and 86).

59 ASV. SM, e.g. reg. 227-6. 8. 1761, reg. 229-22. 9. 1763.

higher than the purchase price. This leads to double economic damage which can only be defined as the highest damage possible." (Rel., 1784, 10, 317/8). Other examples of smuggling include wine exported to Cres without being taxed and from there, again without taxation, it continued its pilgrimage to Austrian Rijeka or Bakar (Rel., 1672).

The introduction of numerous Venetian fiscal measures inevitably led to such a response by the population. Smuggling was becoming more and more extensive and no repressive penal policy could put a stop to it. On the

contrary, higher taxes gave rise to more smuggling. This did not have a negative impact on the state treasury, (but could undoubtedly do without it), in comparison with fiscal revenue coming from other regions of the Venetian Republic, extremely modest Istrian tributes, but also on the revenue of local communes which in this way were denied all means that could foster infrastructural development and introduction of various projects to enhance the development of economic activities. And the circle was complete.

DAVČNA POLITIKA IN GOSPODARSTVO V BENEŠKI ISTRI

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POVZETEK

V pogledu gospodarske zgodovine je za istrski polotok v obdobju beneške nadoblasti poglobljena ugotovitev, da so za obdobje od sredine 13. do sredine 16. stoletja značilna razmeroma ugodna gospodarska gibanja, vsaj v primerjavi s sosednjimi, tako italijanskimi kot zalednimi današnjimi slovenskimi in hrvaškimi deželami, medtem ko je za obdobje od sredine 16. do začetka 19. stoletja značilna stagnacija in celo upad gospodarskega razvoja v severni, še bolj pa v preostali beneški Istri, kar je bilo precej povezano prav z intenzivnostjo trgovskih izmenjav z neposrednimi zalednimi, današnjimi slovenskimi kraji ter s Trstom. V tem času namreč začne avstrijska monarhija vse bolj protežirati svoje tržaško in deloma reško pristanišče, z uvajanjem prisilnih poti in z visokimi davki, ki so tradicionalne trgovske poti zalednega avstrijskega oziroma pretežno slovenskega prebivalstva s poti v beneško Istro speljali v svoji pristanišči.

Nemajhno vlogo za tako stanje istrskega gospodarstva pa je imela tudi beneška davčna politika. Ne le da so morali vsi izdelki, namenjeni prekomorskemu trgovanju, najprej v Benetke, kjer so se plačevali razni daci, nenasitna državna blagajna je še zlasti od konca prve polovice 17. stoletja nalagala vse višje davke ne samo na skoraj vse proizvode, ki so prinašali kakršenkoli dohodek, temveč tudi na pridelke za domačo uporabo. Pri tem so jo zvesto posnemale lokalne oblasti. Odziv na te ukrepe je bil pri prebivalstvu pričakovan. Še bolj se namreč razvije tihotapstvo, ki ga nobena še tako ustrahovalna kazenska politika ni mogla zaježiti. Nasprotno, višji ko so bili davki, več je bilo tihotapstva. To pa ni negativno vplivalo le na državno blagajno, ki bi nedvomno lahko povsem brez skrbi shajala tudi brez silno skromnih istrskih prispevkov v primerjavi z davčnimi dohodki iz drugih območij Beneške republike, temveč predvsem na prihodke domačih komunov, ki tako niso imeli možnosti kakršnekoli infrastrukturne razvojne pomoči ali uvajanja projektov, ki bi lahko prispevali k oživitvi gospodarskih dejavnosti.

V prispevku so tako opisane poglobljene družbenozgodovinske okoliščine, ki so privedle do upadanja gospodarstva beneške Istre v 17. in 18. stoletju. Poseben poudarek je posvečen beneški davčni politiki ter davčnim uradom na deželni in lokalni komunski ravni, pod drobnogledom pa so na podlagi analiz arhivskih dokumentov prikazani predvsem prihodki in odhodki deželne komore ter koprškega in piranskega komunov, ki sta veljala za najpomembnejša v beneški Istri.

Ključne besede: Beneška Istra, davčna politika, gospodarstvo, 13.-19. stoletje

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APP = Pokrajinski arhiv Koper. Supplement to the old Koper municipal archive (Appendice all'Archivio antico municipale di Capodistria). Edited by: F. Majer.

ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

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ASV. Senato. Commissioni ai Rettori ed Altre Cariche, Rett. B. 2.

ASV. SM = Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Senato Mare.

ASV. SR = Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Senato Rettori.

CAP. DAC = Capitoli per li Pubblici Dazj della Camera Fiscal di Capodistria, formati Dal Magistrato Eccellentissimo De' Deputati, ed Aggiunti sopra la Provision del Dinaro, ed approvati Dall'Eccellentissimo Senato, Venice 1759, 1774, 1790, 1795 (in: DAPD, 690, 699; PAK. PA. Stampati).

CSM = Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia.

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LD = PAK. PA. Codes, XIV. Liber dacii, 1588-1791.

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M/ = Indication of archival units according to the Inventory of F. Majer (1904) and microfilm shot numbers in: Archivio di Stato di Trieste. Antico archivio municipale di Capodistria.

m.v. = More Veneto. Dated according to the Venetian calendar with 1 March marking the start of the New Year.

PAK. PA. = Pokrajinski arhiv Koper. Piranski arhiv.

Prov. = La Provincia dell'Istria. Koper, Tipografia G. Tondelli, 1867-1894.

PSD = Archivio di Stato di Venezia. Provveditori sopra Dazi, Revisori e regolatori dei Dazi e Dazio del vino.

Rel. = Relazioni dei Podestà e Capitani di Capodistria, in: AMSI, 6-8/1890-92, 10/1894, 13/1897.

SM = Senato Mare (1440-1797), in: AMSI, 7/1891, 9/1893, 11-17/1895-1901.

SMi = Senato Misti (1332-1440), in: AMSI, 3-5/1887-1889.

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CRAFTS AND TRADES PRACTISED BY WOMEN IN URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORY OF SLOVENIA DURING THE MIDDLE AND EARLY MODERN AGES

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ABSTRACT

The contribution presents the role of women in crafts and trades in Middle and Early Modern Age urban settlements in the territory of the modern Slovene state. Women asserted themselves primarily in trades dealing with production of food and in various retail services. They further contributed towards the family budget with sewing, weaving and similar activities carried out at home. Master tradesmen's wives bore an exacting burden of house-keeping for their large families.

Key words: woman, craft, trade, Middle Ages, Early Modern Ages, Slovenia, town

ARTI E MESTIERI PRATICATI DALLE DONNE NEGLI INSEDIAMENTI URBANI NEL TERRITORIO DELLA SLOVENIA DURANTE IL MEDIO EVO E GLI INIZI DELL'ETÀ MODERNA

SINTESI

Questo contributo illustra il ruolo delle donne nelle arti e nei mestieri durante il Medio Evo e il principio dell'età Moderna negli insediamenti del territorio del moderno stato sloveno. Le donne si dedicavano principalmente a mestieri concernenti la produzione di cibo e vari servizi di vendita al dettaglio. Esse contribuivano inoltre al budget familiare con lavori di cucito, tessitura e attività simili realizzate in casa. Le mogli dei mastri commercianti avevano l'arduo compito di badare alla gestione della casa e alla famiglia.

Parole chiave: donne, arti, mestieri, Medio Evo, inizio età Moderna, Slovenia, città

I. Towards the inner structure of the article

In order to make the article easier to follow, let us begin by saying a couple of words about the article's separate segments: the introductory thoughts about the division of life roles and activities according to sexes in the past will be followed by a short description of the mediaeval town itself; for a better understanding of the towns which originated in the Middle Ages in the territory of the modern Slovene state, we shall interpret their typological characteristics, on the basis of which the towns can be divided into two groups: the "littoral" and the "continental". We shall then present the great variety of crafts and trades practised in the towns on the territory of Slovenia until the beginning of the Modern Age, and the sources that have enabled a thorough study of these professions. Later on we shall present the women's direct and indirect participation in trades as known in littoral towns and in those in interior. The concluding assessment shall be that women affirmed themselves, in the territory of Slovenia during the considered periods, much more as wives, mothers and housewives in the environment of their homes rather than in trade.

II. The former role of wives

In the past, the role of women and their activities were much more one-dimensional and limited than today. The position of European women was to a great extent influenced by the Catholic Church, in accordance with the teachings of Catholic thinkers and philosophers. Theoretically, a wife was respected in her spiritual world, while socially she was never considered equal to man – either within the church community or in secular life (Mihelič, 1978, 23-24).

The activities of man and woman were defined by a kind of silent and consenting division of labor between the two sexes which was, as far as the woman was concerned, quite obligatory. She had an important role in family life (childbearing, upbringing) and housekeeping, while elsewhere mainly husband could take part and eventually assert himself. The wife took care of cooking and preparing food for her family and the domestic animals, as well as doing the washing and house maintenance; she gave birth to children and brought them up during their tender years; she worked in the garden and was allowed to carry out simpler field work; she did some handicrafts, like spinning, weaving, and sewing for family members, and she also probably did her share of the production of earthenware pottery for domestic needs.

The rise of mediaeval town settlements changed, to a certain degree, the role of wives in the economic life outside their families. Here we are interested particularly in to what extent women in the territory of Slovenia participated, actively or passively, in some of the major town activities – crafts and trade.

III. Mediaeval urban settlements in the territory of Slovenia

When talking about mediaeval boroughs or towns, we are referring to settlements of a new economic and social category within agriculturally oriented feudal society. The European mediaeval borough or town was mostly a non-agrarian settlement with a certain degree of autonomy. It was inhabited by free citizens engaged in crafts, trade, financial transactions, etc.

In the territory of Slovenia this kind of settlement began to spring up in the early 13th century, many as late as the 1470s as fortifications against the Turks who attacked Slovene territory from southeast and east. In the territory of the present-day Slovenia, 23 towns developed in the process of urban settlement formation: Kamnik, Kranj, Ljubljana, Kostanjevica, Škofja Loka, Metlika, Novo mesto, Črnomelj, Kočevje, Krško, Lož, Višnja gora and Radovljica in the Carniola (Kranjska) region; Koper/ Capodistria, Izola/Isola and Piran/Pirano in the Littoral (Primorska) region; Slovenj Gradec in Carinthia (Koroška); Ptuj, Maribor, Slovenska Bistrica, Brežice, Ormož and Celje in Styria (Štajerska) (with the addition of the frontier towns of Radgona/Radkersburg towards Austria, and Gorica/Gorizia/Görz, Milje/Muggia and Trst/Trieste/Triest towards Italy, there were 27 in all) as well as some 70 urban settlements of a lower rank (Blaznik et al., 1970). In the Middle Ages, the territory inhabited by early Slovene stretched across the present-day northern and western borders of the Slovene state. Some urban mediaeval settlements originated there as well.

IV. Typology of mediaeval towns in the territory of Slovenia

The towns were small, numbering only a couple of thousand inhabitants. A typological duality is noticed in them: the towns in the South-Littoral region differed in a number of characteristics from the "continental" towns as well as from the Northern-Littoral urban settlement of Gorizia as a result of its historical fate which caused the main differences between the two types of towns (Vilfan 1974a, 1974b, 1975). The majority of the differences stem from the fact that the peoples that crossed the central area of Slovenia during the great migration of peoples during the late antiquity and early Middle Ages totally destroyed the ancient towns they found there. Mediaeval urban settlements in this area were erected anew in modestly portioned out places let by seigneurs. On the coast the old urban settlements survived and adapted, economically and socially, to mediaeval needs. By tradition they were not only limited to the urban settlement but covered – contrary to the towns in the interior – the extensive agrarian hinterland.

This fact as well as the towns' coastal position, which enabled various traffic-trade activities as well as

fishing and salt-making, are the reasons for a number of differences which emerged between the economy of the littoral and that of the "continental" towns in the territory of Slovenia. The economy of littoral towns included all agrarian and non-agrarian branches of the economy in a fairly extensive agrarian town setting, while the economy of the towns in the interior was limited to the typical urban activities of the narrower urban settlement, whose territory practically ended within the town walls.

V. Crafts and trades in mediaeval towns in the territory of Slovenia

The range of crafts and trades practised in the towns prior to the mid-16th century is quite diverse (Mihelič, 1993, 1995). The towns' smallness, however, is the reason for lesser trade specialisation than that known in larger European towns.

We shall look at the trades in towns in the territory of Slovenia during the considered period. For a better understanding we shall divide them into food, leather, textile, metal, timber, building and other trades, service trades, and atypical (trade) activities.

Food trades in urbane settlements included miller's, baker's, butcher's, oil-making, distiller's and honey trades, while the cheese trade was practised in provincial and mountainous areas. As far as **leather** trades are concerned, tanning, shoemaking, belt making, bag making as well as the fur, tawer and saddler's trades were practised prior to the mid-16th century. **Textile** trades included weaving, drapery, cutting and dyeing of cloth, tailoring and hat making, and the manufacture of blankets, sails, ropes and nets. Those working in the **metal** trades were blacksmiths, nail- and needle-makers, locksmiths, file-cutters, armourers (sword cutlers, cutlers, gunsmiths), whitemiths, tinmen, bellfounders, gunfounders, goldsmiths and gilders, while those working in the **timber** trades were most often sawyers, bow makers, carpenters, cartwrights, joiners, chest makers, coopers, hoop makers, boat makers, turners, clog makers, brush makers and wickerworkers. The most common **building** trades were general construction, masonry, stonecutting and stonemasonry. **Other** trades were brickmaking, the potter's trade, the glazier's trade, pitch making and lime-burning. Those working in **service** trades were barbers, barber-surgeons, doctors, pharmacists, painters and prostitutes. The name "master" also denoted the rare teachers or school masters.

The people dedicated to **atypical** (trade) activities were owners of inns, lodging houses, hospices, hospitals and kitchens, those selling and roasting chestnuts, peddlers and costermongers. While, in a way, merchant activities, the salt-making trade was nearer to agriculture and mining, and fishing nearer to gathering and hunting.

After the mid-16th century, the range of trades once known in the territory of Slovenia became even more

varied due to greater specialisation within trade groups.

Apart from all the above mentioned crafts and trades, various **domestic trades** flourished in the Middle Ages and later on in the Slovene countryside, in which women were involved to a great extent, namely thread spinning, canvas making and the cloth trade. In the late Middle Ages goods were made by family at home from raw materials supplied to them by tradesmen. Women were making lace, simple clothing and bedclothes. They also took to making earthenware, stoves, wooden riddles, sieves, hoops and, later on, straw hats. This participation of women in domestic trades in the territory of Slovenia deserves special historical research.

VI. Sources

Sources for the study of crafts and trades are direct **material remains**, such as tools and products, and indirect material remains, such as preserved symbols of professional tradesmen associations (storage chests, banners, seals, travel booklets used by tradesmen's apprentices, etc.), paintings and written sources, which are sometimes accompanied by illustrations.

In the **artistic depictions** of various trades we often find ourselves in an awkward situation, not knowing whether we are dealing with provincial/domestic or urban/professional trades. We are also faced with this dilemma when studying women participating in trades as depicted in numerous frescoes found in churches all over Slovenia, outside inner town environments.

The fresco from the Church of St. Primus above ("continental") Kamnik from the early 16th century depicts two women engaged in weaving and sewing (Fig. 1), while the fresco (dated to the second half of the 15th

Fig. 1 / Sl. 1: St. Primus, detail. / Sv. Primož, detajl.

century) on the façade of the Church of the Annunciation of St. Mary at Crngrob near Škofja Loka presents the iconographic complex of the holiness of Sunday, in which many of those everyday jobs are depicted that are not supposed to be carried out on Sundays and feast days. Here a woman engaged in "textile" activity appears a number of times. One of the scenes shows a man soaking flax, while a woman is drying it. In another scene we see a man behind a spinning wheel and three women: the first one is winding a ball of thread on the spindle, the second is holding the yarn, while the third one is weaving at the loom (Fig. 2). A woman is also depicted as a helper during the process of cloth bleaching: she is pouring liquid on cloth spread on the ground, while two men are hanging another piece of cloth on a tree for drying. This fresco also includes a guest house scene with a woman bringing drinks to the table.

The little church at Hrastovlje from the end of the 15th century is situated in the agrarian hinterland, which belonged to the coastal town of Koper. The wall painting in connection with our topic delineates a somewhat provincial environment: Adam hoeing the soil, and Eve breast-feeding her twins and spinning at the same time (Fig. 3).

The depictions on frescoes mostly show women participating in textile activities and innkeeping.

As far as **written sources** are concerned, there are, particularly, records of the activities of professional tradesmen associations – brotherhoods and guilds, master's books and ledgers, police and tradesmen's orders – that are most eloquent regarding trades practised in towns of the interior part of the territory of Slovenia (and Gorizia), and municipal tax registers for the range of various trades.

Some precious data on the coastal towns of Slovenia are found in notarial and *vicedominus'* registers, into which the essence of the concluded agreements was entered. These towns (with Koper, Izola, Piran and the nearby Trieste being taken into consideration) had their mediaeval codes – statutes which stipulated the rules of town administration, economy and everyday life (publi-

Fig. 3 / Sl. 3: Hrastovlje, detail. / Hrastovlje, detajl.

cation of statutes: Margetič, 1993a /for Koper/; Morteani, 1888, 1889 /for Izola/; De Franceschi, 1960; Pahor, Šumrada, 1987 /for Piran/; De Szombathely, 1935 /for Trieste/). The only town in the interior with comparable statutes was the Styrian Ptuj (Bischoff, 1887; Statut mesta Ptuj 1376; Statut mesta Ptuja 1513).

The image offered regarding the issue of women's participation in crafts and trades by the surveyed remains – predominantly the above mentioned wall paintings and written sources – is quite modest. For the coastal towns it is more detailed as well as more integral, while for the towns in the interior of the country it is quite dispersed. As the two images differ from each other in certain details, it is reasonable to present them separately.

Fig. 2 / Sl. 2: Crngrob, detail. / Crngrob, detajl.

VII. Women in crafts and trades in mediaeval towns in the territory of Slovenia

VII. A. Coastal towns (Mihelič, 1997; 1999; 2000)

VII. A. 1. Childhood

As far as life in the coastal towns of Slovenia is concerned, certain patriarchal rules were in force. The head of the family was always a male – either father or husband. In their tender years, children of both sexes were treated without any substantial differences. Those who had parents and lived with them under the same roof were under their rule. Parents were responsible for their behaviour and deeds.

Any minor who lost his/her father or mother had a guardian appointed, normally the surviving parent. The mother's guardianship, however, had further conditions, for she was allowed to remain a guardian only as long as she honourably lived in her widowhood (*donec caste vixerit viduata*) (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 55; Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 25; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VII, Art. 23).

Children were supposed to be obedient, humble and gentle towards their parents (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Appendix to Art. 47). Sons or widowed daughters were liable for the care of their enfeebled fathers or mothers (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 87; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VI, Art. 33). Statutory regulations, however, also refer to disputes, cases of offences and conflicts among relatives of both sexes, and to cases of family members being maltreated by the male head of the family (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. III, Art. 13; Pahor, Šumrada, 1987, Vol. VII, Art. 5, 528-530 /edited statutes from 1384/; De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Art. 23, Vol. III, Art. 1).

Education was considered important by the people living on the coast. Towns had master-teachers who taught children the basic skills of writing. Schools were attended primarily by boys. At the end of the 17th century, however, there was a case of the converted Jewish woman Perla, who was able to write: she wrote a personal complaint to the Piran Podestà about her relatives who objected to her conversion (Piran Archives, Charters – copies, Box 1/4 /1283–1610/, folio 56 verso).

A free hand in dealing with property, the possibility of getting married, as well as legal capacity and responsibility were obtained by the young inhabitants of the above mentioned coastal towns when attaining their majority or "legitimate age" (*aetas legitima*) and through their emancipation (*emancipatio*); orphans were granted this sooner than children living with their parents.

The Koper and Izola statutes stipulated the age at which children were able to have property at their free disposal, i.e. 20 years. The Koper statutes retained this age limit also for independent transactions by orphans.

The Izola orphans and the Piran male orphans, however, were allowed to alienate property when 18 years of age. According to the statutes, parent-less Piran girls were supposed to mature at an earlier age, for they were allowed to deal with property when 15 years old. Trieste children who grew up within the family circle reached their "lawful age" only at 25. Even if they still lived under the auspices of their fathers, they became fully responsible at that age. Trieste orphans under 18 were not allowed to alienate property, to go into debt or to conclude agreements, barring exceptional circumstances (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 57; Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 28; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VII, Art. 26; De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Art. 32, Vol. II, Appendix to Art. 32).

Koper and Izola male orphans remained the responsibility of their guardians until turning 15, female orphans until turning 14; if they were sick they were allowed to make a will when reaching 14 years of age. By consent of their guardians, relatives or Podestà they were allowed to marry: boys at 14, Koper girls at 13. Married Koper girls were able to make a will at 13. In Piran, an orphaned boy could marry, with his relatives' consent, at 14, an orphaned girl even at 12. At this age they could make their last will (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 19, Vol. II, Art. 57; Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 28; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VII, Art. 26). At the age of 14, Izola and Piran boys were liable to swear the oath of allegiance to the Podestà, which from a social-legal aspect formally distinguished their further role from that of the girls (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. I, Art. 92; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. I, Art. 2).

VII. A. 2. Maturity

In her youth, a girl lived under the protection of her father, mother, brother, some of her relatives or other guardian, while after marriage she was subjected to her husband's "rule". In Trieste, a wedded couple was legally considered next-of-kin. A Trieste man was free in the treatment of his wife, and was even able to cause her bodily harm without being punished for it. Any reports made by wives at being cruelly treated by their husbands were not accepted by the Trieste justice administration, which means that no criminal proceedings were instituted against their violent husbands (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. III, Art. 1).

In Koper, Izola and Piran, the most common manner of concluding wedlock was in the way of owning property "like brother and sister" (*sicut frater et soror*), in the form of "fraternal society" (*fraterna societas*), which in view of the married couple's attitude towards the property had similar characteristics as marriages in Trieste (Margetić, 1993b). In Trieste, each partner brought into marriage part of their property, on which they then built their further prosperity. The original property of each of

them was comprehended as his. The property gained by them during their marriage belonged to both of them (on a half-half basis). The debts contracted during marriage were also shared (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. IV, Art. 41, Vol. II, Art. 57, 58).

When a Koper wedded couple was burdened with debt for the benefit of both, the husband was able to settle the debt without his wife's consent from their shared property. The creditor could confiscate the wedded couple-debtors' shared property or could demand a settlement to be made from the property of one of them. The husband, however, who had an agreement with his wife in "fraternal society", was not able to pledge property and real estate in court in her name without consent of the wife's solicitors. Without her husband's consent, a married Koper woman was not able to alienate, sell or pledge her property to incur debt. Without her husband's consent she could not sell or alienate movable and immovable property. Without a lawful husband's authorisation or without his presence she was not responsible to the creditor for her husband's and their shared debts (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 2, 3, 47, 70, 75, 86).

If a husband in Izola contracted a debt without his wife's consent, she was not responsible for this debt. When he put up part of their shared property for auction, he was liable to offer her certain indemnity. Neither could an Izola man marry off his child and give her/him a dowry without his wife's consent, or, if he did, the wife did not need to participate in payment of the dowry. A husband could not alienate his wife's property without her consent. In business transactions, a married woman had her hands tied: she was not able to sell movable or immovable property without her husband's consent. And neither could she alienate property exceeding the value of 20 pounds (*librae*; 1 *libra* = 20 *solidi* = 240 *denarii*) without explicit permission of the Podestà. (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 4, 6, 11, 12, 16).

A Piran man, who contracted a debt without his wife's consent, was liable to square the debt from his own property. If he was unable to settle the debt, he was liable to be exiled. In case a married couple contracted a shared debt and was then unable to square it, it was only he that was liable to be exiled. A Piran woman who was in her husband's power could not contract a debt on the account of her property, except by consent of the Podestà and two or three relatives (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. IV, Art. 18, 19).

In Trieste, a husband was the possessor, beneficiary and manager of the wife's property – both the property she had brought into marriage and the property attained during their marriage. He had free use of his wife's and his own property. When he was in debt, a creditor was allowed to confiscate, in return for the debt, his wife's property as well as his, except that the creditor had to

leave, for her and her children, enough for food and clothing as well as the costs of cultivating the land. The only "safety valve" for the wife's (and their own) property benefits lay with her relatives, who controlled her and her husband's business activities. A Trieste husband could sell or alienate his wife's property only by her consent, together with her father's or mother's approval. The interests of the wife's family were also protected with the regulation that the wife could not give her husband part of her property but could only bequeath it. The Trieste women were able to contract debts with the approval of their husbands and by consent of their fathers or mothers or by two adult male relatives, or by two "good men" (*boni homines*) stipulated by the authorities. Those married in accordance with the old Venetian custom could, however, not incur debts at all (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Art. 56, 57, 58).

A married woman in Izola, Piran or Trieste was allowed to make her last will only in the presence of two adult relatives. Of the shared property, the following items automatically belonged to wives in the towns of the Littoral region: clothing, rings, silver belts and pearls, while their husbands were automatically entitled to horses, arms and money (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. II, Art. 9, 17; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VII, Art. 9; De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Art. 47).

A Trieste woman, who lived apart from her husband from whom she had separated by common consent, returned to the supervision of her family. She was able to make agreements only by consent of her father or mother, or by consent of two relatives if she had no parents (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Art. 59).

VII. A. 3. Women's professions

Koper, Izola and Piran wives' business activities were limited, although they owned movable and immovable property, including ovens, water-mills, olive presses (*torcellarium*) in which olive oil was made, as well as boats.

There were a number of characteristic urban professions in which women took part. Of the "decent" trades in which they were involved, bread baking is mentioned in all the considered towns. In Koper, female millers were also known (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 6, Vol. II, Art. 98). Of the "indecent" trades, so branded by the public, the profession of public mistresses (*meretrices publicae*) is mentioned in Piran and Trieste. In Koper, Izola and Trieste, women sold fruit and vegetables at the markets, in Koper and Izola they were tavern keepers, in Koper they sold milk, grapes, wine, oil and other goods (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 30, 31, Vol. II, Art. 75, Vol. III, Art. 32, 33), while the Koper female millers sold corn and flour (Margetić, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 6). The Koper statutes speak about a Jewish man and woman who wished to open a financial transaction business there

(Margetič, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 76). Some women's activities were connected with the sea and the agrarian hinterland. Many Koper and Piran women worked in salt-pans as salters (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 25, 26; De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. IX, Art. 12). The Koper statutes also refer to fishermen of "both sexes" (*utriusque sexus*) as well as to Slavs of both sexes whom they equate with peasants (*Sclavus vel rusticus utriusque sexus*) (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. III, Art. 44, 46, Vol. IV, Art. 26, 35). All the considered towns knew the profession of maidservant hired for money (*mercenaria, famula*), while in Koper "slaves" were also known (referred to as *servi utriusque sexus*) (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 10) to work for wealthier town families. One of the honoured avocations, in connection with which a couple of women from Trieste and Koper are mentioned, was that of nun.

Let us now have a closer look at some of the "women's" professions. Bread was an essential component of the townspeople's diet. This is why towns normally reserved, in connection with **bread baking**, the exclusive right to sell it, which brought them regular income. A town gave the right of bread baking annually at auction and on lease. The annual implementers of bread baking owed rent to the town authority. Bread baking was carried out (for male leaseholders) by professional female bakers who used communal ovens for the baking from cereals given to them by the administrator of the town granary (*fonticum*). In some towns, even the place where bread was sold was specially stipulated.

Koper female (and male) bakers had to bake bread of strictly prescribed weight, or they were fined; unsuitable bread was given to prisoners or paupers at the St. Nazarius hospital (*hospitalis*) (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. III, Art. 43). The leaseholder of the right of baking bread for sale in Izola was liable to supervise the work of at least five or six female bakers, who then carried out their trade directly (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. III, Art. 24).

The outer appearance of the Piran bakeries was regulated. Due to the fire hazard, the buildings in which ovens were built were covered with tiles, bricks or boards, and not with straw or twigs (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VIII, Art. 23, and Vol. VIII, Art. 20 /edited statutes from 1332/). In the stoves, firewood (*lignum*) and fagots (*frasca*) were burnt. Bread was baked in special pans (*cucolum*). In Piran, bread for sale could be baked only by the female (and male) bakers commissioned for this work by the Piran Podestà and the judges. There were supposed to be eight officially appointed female bakers. They were allowed to bake bread only from corn and flour supplied from the Piran granary. Its warehouseman and his assistant were liable to give them large enough quantities of corn for the needs of the town, and every month they checked the accounts of their business operations. From the corn that came from the Piran granary, bread for sale was allowed to be baked also by the leaseholders of guest houses (*hostaria*)

(De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. IX, Art. 13 /edited statutes from 1332/). During bread baking, the female bakers had to stick to a fair weight. Business operations of Piran bakeries were supervised by the town officials (*extimatores, iusticiarii*). Piran female and male bakers who baked bread which was too light, were fined. A female or male baker who committed an offence three times in a single year and did not use the corn from the granary or cheated on weight lost the right to practice her/his profession. In the early 14th century, the female and male bakers were allowed to sell bread only in their own homes or in front of them, and in the square of the *Campo* quarter. At the request of the Podestà, they were liable to deliver certain amounts of bread to *loggia* (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. I, Art. 6, 7, Vol. VIII, Art. 26, 27). Later editions of statutes no longer stipulated the places where bread could be sold (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. VIII, Art. 28 /edited statutes from 1332/). Among the Piran originals we also find some concrete agreements, which bound the female bakers to the prescribed baking of bread as well as to how they should supply the town of Piran with it (Mihelič, 1986, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 198, 199).

Trieste, too, maintained rights to use baker's ovens in the town; each year they were attained by those offering the highest rent for them. The buildings in which these ovens were located were maintained and repaired by the town authorities, while their equipment was taken care of by the current leaseholders. They were allowed to bake and sell bread, though this right belonged, according to the town statutes, to the professional female bakers. The latter and the innkeepers brought dough to the leaseholders, paying them one groat (*denarius/grossus*) and a half (i.e. 48 pennies - *denarii /parvi*; 1 *denarius grossus* = 32 *denarii parvi*) for the baking of every quarter of bread. The greater part of bread for sale in Trieste was baked by professional female bakers. In January each year they swore that they would carry out their work conscientiously all year round. They baked the bread in town (communal) ovens and sold it under the new *loggia*. They bought corn and flour in the town granary, but were allowed to purchase wheat and barley from importers as well. Bread was prepared in accordance with the rules of the baker's trade and branded by special supervisory clerks. If the bread was of bad quality or not well baked, it could be confiscated by the town judges and used for feeding the poor and prisoners. Unauthorised bakers were not allowed to bake bread for sale, but were able to make an agreement with the female bakers, according to which the latter could let them have some of the bread to be sold retail on the market. When bread baked by "town" female bakers ran short eight days in a row, the judges could allow bread to be baked and sold by everybody and not merely by the official female bakers (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. I, Art. 53, 54, Vol. IV, Art. 9, 14).

The original of the Trieste statutes from 1350 contains two miniature depictions of a female baker and a female oven owner (BCT, AD, Statuti di Trieste del 1350, Vol. I, Art. 77, Vol. IV, Art. 78 /in the original erroneously marked with No. 68/). The female baker is wearing a tight white head-covering, which also covers her shoulders and the neck. It is fastened with a turban with red and blue trimmings. She is clad in a long dress pleated at the waist, and in a long overcoat of a dark petroleum blue colour flowing like a train along the floor behind her. She is holding something irreconisable in her left hand, possibly a little lump of dough (Fig. 4). The female oven owner is depicted only down to her shoulders. She is wearing a tight light head-covering reaching over the neck towards the shoulders. It is embellished with a narrow red edge that encircles the head around the forehead and the crown. Judging by the part of the sleeve seen in the little picture, her clothing is red. In her right hand she is holding three twigs (or a single branched out twig).

The records on women in **other trades** are very few. In the records from 1336 and 1337 we can see a Piran woman in the role of a supplier of barrel spare parts (staves and bottoms). The widow called Blanca replaced her late husband, Rainerius Peroni, a Florence immigrant, in this trade (Piran Archives, Vicedominaria /Vicedominaria/, Vol. 6, folio 155 verso; Vol. 7, folio 66).

The majority of the rest of the above mentioned women's professions are mentioned in the statutes more or less casually, without any detailed particulars. Quite common, however, are statutory mentions of **"the oldest (service) trade"** practiced in the Littoral towns by public mistresses (*meretrix publica*).

The Trieste statutes talk about public mistresses as being totally inferior. Quite often they refer to them as to worthless people (*personae viles*). Rape, forceful detention or abduction of such women was excluded from the list of offences committed against "decent" Trieste women. Their complaints were dealt with negligently, for they did not have the same weight as complaints filed by "honourable" people. Even the statutorily stipulated prohibition of torture with the aim to extort guilt did not apply to them: they were allowed to be thrown into jail, tortured and pilloried. Using the insulting expression of *meretrix*, similar to "whore" in these days, was a punishable offence. The statutes also refer to other insulting words, such as impostor, swine, cow, she-ass, harlot (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. III, Art. 31).

Female pimps (*ruffiana*, *lena*) were also known in Trieste. Regarding the manner of dress as far as public mistresses and female pimps were concerned, the Trieste statutes stipulated that they were not allowed to wear silver, gilt or gold belts. They had to live only in prescribed places, or they were sentenced to exile. A male pimp (*leno*) who lived with such a woman was not allowed to settle in Trieste or its vicinity. He could only stop on his way from one town to the other. He and she were allowed to spend only a single night in a brothel.

The fact is that the public sale of love in Trieste was fairly well affirmed. The records speak not only of pimps but also of brothels (*postribulum*, *burdellum*) and public baths (*balneatoria*), which were a breeding ground of debauchery. Nobody was allowed to be a pimp of a public mistress or an owner of a brothel, except in the place stipulated for these purposes, i.e. behind the Trieste town palace (!). The public bath owners in Trieste were not allowed to entertain either men (clients) or public mistresses at night, i.e. between the evening and morning chiming. During this time, the brothels were not allowed to operate either (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. III, Art. 1, 3, 31, 58, 85, Appendix to Art. 85).

"Sweet life" (*la dolce vita*) practices were most probably available in the Piran guest houses as well. This may be presumed on the basis of the stipulations written in the Piran statutes, according to which a communal guest house could be leased only to honest people. A guest house was not allowed to have a brothel nor to maintain a public mistress (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. IX, Art. 13 /edited statutes from 1332/).

The statutes also refer to **retail and peddling**. The Trieste statutes dedicated some time also to female costermongers (*venderigola*, *tricola*) at the markets. They were not allowed to purchase goods before nine in the morning and could only do business in prescribed places. A vivid picture of their dealings is roused by the directive that they must be quiet and dedicated only to the sale of their goods. During their work they should not do any spinning, neither could they have children under two years of age with them. – Such markets, however, were clearly

Fig. 4 / Sl. 4: Trieste statutes, miniature depiction of female baker. / Tržaški statut, miniatura pekarice.

very lively, full of the daily hurly-burly; the female costermongers were obviously not quiet, and they were clearly not dedicated only to the sale of their goods but to other things as well, even to babies that could clearly not be left elsewhere. The statutes attempted to introduce some order into the existing practices and some truly drastic punishments were prescribed for women violating the provisions: they were to walk around the palace with a stone weighing 25 pounds (*librae*; i. e. nearly 12 kilograms: 1 *libra* = 477 grams) around their neck (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. I, Art. 56).

Provisions in connection with retail are also referred to in other Littoral towns but are fairly scattered. A man or a woman who wished to sell milk in Koper was not allowed to mix it with water. Men or women could not cart foreign wine or grapes to Koper for the production of wine. In Koper, wine could not be made "nobler" by various additives, such as honey to make it sweeter (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 30, 31, Vol. IV, Art. 34). In Izola, wine could be sold retail only with prescribed measures (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. III, Art. 21). In Trieste, women are at times mentioned as purchasers of worked wood at the town market and as chestnut gatherers – it is not clear whether for domestic use or for roasting and sale (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. II, Appendix to Art. 64, Vol. III, Art. 96).

Business activities practised by women are also evident from some environmental violations. In Koper, persons of "both sexes" are referred to as violating or threatening public order by having carts or wood beside the church or having unsuitably tethered pack animals. People of "both sexes" were prohibited from digging or accumulating soil or manure at certain localities (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. IV, Art. 5, 36). In Izola, neither men nor women were allowed to dig worms (*vermi*) from piers or embankments, possibly for the needs of fishing (Morteani, 1888, 1889, Vol. III, Art. 68).

Monetary transactions by women are mentioned in the Koper statutes dealing with a Jewish woman (and a Jewish man) wishing to lend money at interest and having a bank (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 76).

Some statutory decrees refer to the rules of men and women **trading in** "the gifts of the sea", i.e. **fish** and **salt**. Fishermen of "both sexes" in Koper were not allowed to bring or sell putrid fish in the town fish market, and fish not sold on the same day had to have their tails cut off as a mark of not being fresh (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. III, Art. 44, 46). The Koper male and female salt-pan workers were not allowed (except at the time of harvest) to go to their own or other salt-pans after sunset (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 25). The Piran male and female salters were allowed to give, alienate or bring salt only in the presence of those entitled to collect taxes (De Franceschi, 1960, Vol. IX, Art. 12).

In the towns of the Littoral region, **hired labour** was also known. The range of activities of hired female

workers – maidservants (*mercenaria*) is not known in greater detail. A Koper maidservant/manservant was not allowed to leave her/his master without his consent and to go and work for somebody else for higher wages. When she/he finished her/his service and wished to leave the master, she/he had to demand, within two months, her/his wages from the employer. If she/he left the employer before the expiration of the contract, the employer was not liable to pay her/him any wages. If a woman or a man in the Koper area received a certain amount of money for work in advance from a male or a female but then did not turn up to do the service, she/he was considered to have perpetrated a penal act (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. I, Art. 10, 11, Vol. II, Art. 100).

The Trieste statutes treated maidservants in a way similar to public mistresses. Punishment for raping, detaining or abducting such persons was much milder than for the Trieste women of a more respectable social position. Here the statutes stipulate very concretely that no Trieste townswoman can be dealt with as a person hired for money. Also milder than in the case of townswomen was the punishment for an offence committed against a woman hired for money, for example, if she was detained or taken away against the will of her relatives or as long as a man did not resort to force and she consented to sexual intercourse (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. III, Art. 58).

Women in the role of a **nun** (*monialis*) is mentioned once in the Trieste statutes – in connection with rape. If she was a townswoman, a Trieste resident, a resident of the Trieste surroundings or a stranger, such offence against her was punished with death, while attempted rape was punished with a fine of 200 pounds (*librae*) (De Szombathely, 1935, Vol. III, Art. 58). *Religiosa* is in Koper referred to in connection with family property (Margetič, 1993a, Vol. II, Art. 37).

VII. B. "Continental" towns

VII. B. 1. Brotherhoods and guilds

In contrast to the Littoral, the tradesmen in the interior of the territory of Slovenia used to associate in brotherhoods and guilds (Blaznik, 1940). Guilds were associations of tradesmen of the same profession with the exclusive right to carry out the profession in urban settlements or in their surroundings. In the territory of Slovenia they began to spring up in the 14th century. Outwardly they protected the rights of their members from the rivalry of foreign urban and provincial tradesmen as well as from competition by laymen. Inwardly they regulated the issues of production: they stipulated the manner of production, working hours, quality, prices of products, number of assistants and apprentices per skilled worker, their wages, conditions for attaining skilled worker status, etc. They also took care of the re-

ligious and social affairs of their members. Among the oldest guilds in the country's interior were those of the tailors, furriers and shoemakers in Ljubljana, furriers in Kranj, Gorizia and Škofja Loka, shoemakers in Gorizia, Kranj and Škofja Loka, and blacksmiths in Škofja Loka, Maribor and Kranj.

Membership in a guild was compulsory not only for masters, assistants and apprentices, but also for the masters' wives. That is, the masters had to be married: this was in fact one of the conditions for becoming a master (apart from the fact that a master candidate was obliged to get citizenship and to demonstrate suitable knowledge). As members of trade brotherhoods, "brothers and sisters" are thus often mentioned, such as of the two bakers' brotherhoods in Ptuj, tailors' brotherhood in Maribor, and as female members of the guild of barber-surgeons in Radkersburg (Popelka, 1950, Nos. 93, 159, 124).

Wives had an important (non-production) role in the 17th century when the restriction of entry limited the number of masters in a guild to the existing one. From then on the master title was transferred according to the family tradition: a father was followed by his son or son-in-law. An assistant – a non-descendant of the master – could become a master only by marrying the master's widow or daughter. – The practise of transferring the right of carrying out the trade through the female line had indeed been known before. The certificate and the renewal of the old rights of the Leibnitz butchers in 1402 contained the stipulation that the butcher's legitimate daughter could transfer the right of mastery to her husband (Popelka, 1950, No. 42).

Guilds controlled the moral life of their members: wives are in this context referred to as persons against whom an offence was perpetrated. A master locksmith from Škofja Loka who lost his self-control over a girl had to pay a fine allotted in wax. A Celje master potter who left his wife was forced to give up his trade until ready to return to the honest wedded life (Blaznik, 1940, 11). According to the rules of the Radkersburg guild of barber-surgeons, a Radkersburg master barber-surgeon or assistant was not allowed to publicly whistle at married woman or virgin. In these rules, the female members are also referred to as possible violators of rules of behaviour. If female members called each other names or were otherwise badly behaved, they were bound to pay a *viertel* (140 grams) of wax. If a master, assistant or wife acted against their guild's rules, they were excluded from it until certain satisfaction was obtained from them (Popelka 1950, No. 124).

VII. B. 2. Property issues in marriage

The same as in the Littoral, also in the "continental" Slovene territory the husband was the head of the family. In Ptuj, the father could choose his children's

spouses or state their guardians according to his own free will (Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 141, 144, 145; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 62, 63).

A widowed Ptuj woman was entitled to a "suitable" and "fair" indemnity, stated by her relatives or property possessors (Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 151, 152; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 65, 66). She was not responsible for her deceased husband's debts even if she remarried a wealthy man. However, if a Ptuj widowed man burdened by his deceased wife's debt remarried and acquired new movable property, he had to settle his deceased wife's debts, in compliance with the law which defined that *der man weibes vogt und auch maister ist* (the husband is his wife's representative and master) (Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 156, 157, 158; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 69, 70).

According to the statute, a widowed Ptuj woman was entitled to movable property: wine, corn, cattle, bedclothes and other household objects in the house. But trade articles, pawns, money and cash debts were not classed as movable property (Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 154), nor were later trade articles, pawns, money and cash debts, jewellery and mills (Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 68): after the husband's death, property of this nature belonged to his children and creditors.

Despite the above mentioned facts, wedded couples often used to arrange property issues jointly. The fact that a wife could have joint ownership together with her husband or joint right to their production plants is evident from an agreement on lease, according to which a certain Lienhart Fuchs, a Maribor miller, took on lease a hospital (*spital*) mill and all the appertaining accessories along the river Drava together with his wife in 1454 (Popelka, 1950, No. 87). In 1489, a Ptuj miller gave, together with his wife Gertrude, a mill, house and half of a vineyard to the Dominican monastery and the bakers' brotherhood. The agreement includes his wife's statement about the event in the first person: *So bechenn ich Gedraut des bemelten Valtein Mulner eliche Hausfrau, das solchs Geschefft alles, wie oben bestimbt, mit meinem gueten Willen und Wissen ist geschechen ...* (Popelka, 1950, No. 130).

VII. B. 3. Women's professions

Women affirmed themselves in "continental" towns of Slovenia as well, particularly in food trades, the most common among them being – as in the Littoral – the **baker's trade**.

In Celje, female bakers are referred to in connection with cheating. While cheating male bakers were punished by being thrown into the Savinja river, the cheating female bakers were, on the other hand, tied to a pillory (Blaznik, 1940, 8).

In Ljubljana (Ljubljanska obrt, 1972), the 16th century (male) bakers associated in guilds. The places

where bread was sold were strictly prescribed. In the first half of the 16th century, bread was being sold under Tranča, at the junction of Ljubljana's Town ~ (Mestni ~) and Old Square (Stari trg). As the crowds buying bread obstructed the traffic there, its sale was transferred to the Old Square. The bakers had their own stalls in the baker's shop, and bread was allowed to be sold only there. The use of the rooms in the baker's shop was stipulated by special rules. The events in the shop were supervised by a special watcher or keeper who was being paid some sort of fee for his services.

Bread was also allowed to be baked by the so-called bread-women, who were given a permit for this activity by the town hall in view of their material (financial) means. According to the ancient custom, poor widows were permitted to bake and sell brown buckwheat bread, even though they had not qualified for this trade. The bread-women were allowed to bake brown bread, while baking of white bread was reserved for professional (male) bakers. In 1570, a bread shop watcher could demand one thirtieth of the bread's value from bread-women due to the increasing costs of living: two kreutzers (*kreuzer*) from every florin (*gulden*) worth of sold bread (1 *gulden* = 60 *kreutzers* = 240 *pfennigs* /pennies/). In 1596, nine or ten bakers and six to thirteen bread-women were selling bread in the Ljubljana bread shop. For the first four decades of the 17th century, no bread-woman is mentioned as paying a duty for the bread shop: it is obvious that they were not selling bread there any more, most probably bread-women were ousted from it by the male bakers. In 1659 the bakers complained that women, too, were baking white bread, a right which was supposed to be only theirs. The town hall decreed that women selling white bread on the town territory would have their goods confiscated.

In the baker's trade, too, the right of practising the profession could be transferred from husband to wife. One of the more interesting cases is that of the wife of a Ljubljana baker who had committed a crime. The wife went to the town hall and asked for a permit to be issued to her to engage in the trade, and eventually she was granted it.

Women often engaged as **costermongers** or **peddlers**. According to the provisions of the Ptuj statutes from 1376 and from 1513, there were four of them (*fragnerin*, *standlerin*) and each had to pay 6 *pfennigs* for a stall on St. Michael's Day (September 29th) and Candlemas (February 2nd). On market day, which was held on Tuesdays, a town judge was supposed to ensure that the townswomen provided themselves with everything needed, before female costermongers were allowed to buy the goods and eventually resell them (Popelka 1950, No. 28; Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 43, 56, 57, 176; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 133, 175).

The rights of the Maribor town judge at the end of the 15th century bound each of the four female costermong-

ers to pay 71 *pfennigs* to him. This amounted to 10 *schillings* of *pfennigs*. The estimate does not tally: a *schilling* of *pfennigs* comprises 30 *pfennigs*, 10 *schillings* equals 300 *pfennigs*, that is, 16 *pfennigs* more than received by the judge from the costermongers (4 times 71 *pfennigs* = 284 *pfennigs*). In order for the figures to tally, each of the four costermongers would have had to pay 4 *pfennigs* more than stated in the source, i.e. 75 *pfennigs*. Of each costermonger's payment, the town "whistler" received 26 *pfennigs* (Popelka, 1950, No. 146).

The judge's income from people selling food is also referred to in the Maribor town book from 1520. Salt-sellers (*Salzhacker*) ate three times a year with him: on Whitsun, St. Michael's Day and Candlemas. On the first occasion they had to contribute 14, then 13 and finally 12 *pfennigs*, while each time his wife had to be paid the so-called "*trinckpfening*" for her drink. Female costermongers and women selling suet (*Unnsleiterin*) ate together with salt-sellers and on the first occasion had to pay 23, then 22 and finally 21 *pfennigs*, apart from contributing a *pfennig* for the drink of the judge's wife. If people wished to carry out the profession of costermonger or peddler, they were liable to pay, according to the tradition, a florin to the judge. For each peddler's basket (*Fragnerhutte*) they had to pay an extra 3 *schillings* and 14 *pfennigs* to him. The Maribor town book also refers to women selling cheese; on Candlemas each of them was liable to pay 50 *pfennigs*. Every chestnut woman (*Khesstenpraitterin*) roasting chestnuts owed 60 *pfennigs* to the town judge (Popelka, 1950, No. 167).

In the Ptuj statutes, female salt-sellers (*Salczhandlerin*) are also mentioned. According to the statutes from 1376 there were supposed to be 24 of them, in the statutes from 1513, however, only 14 female salt-sellers are mentioned. They had to pay 10 *pfennigs* on September 8th (the Virgin's birth) and the same amount on Candlemas. In Ptuj, there were supposed to be 8 candlewomen or wax traders (*Waxhandlerin*). Only they were allowed to sell wax in quantities smaller than a pound (*pfund*; 1 pound = 560 grams) after 1376 and smaller than half pound after 1513. On St. Michael's Day and Candlemas each of them was liable to pay 6 *pfennigs* (Popelka, 1950, No. 28; Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 38, 42, 61; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 85, 170, 174).

Women were also able to engage in a service trade, that of **barber-surgeons**. In 1483, the Radkersburg barber-surgeons founded the Brotherhood of St. Florian and adopted a set of rules for their members. Those who wished to become members were liable to personally attend, for 14 days, the actual practise of this trade (Popelka, 1950, No. 124).

Women also engaged in some **other trades**. Among the taxpayers for real property in the statutes from Ptuj from 1513 a female tawer (or perhaps a tawer's widow? – *Ircherin*) is mentioned (Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art.168). In Gorizia in the Northern Littoral region we

find a female furrier (or furrier's widow?). This was *Kathrein kürsnerin von Görz*, who in 1472 enfeoffed a cellar and a homestead (*einen keller vnnd hofstatt zu Görz*) (Kos, 1926–1927, 31). As assistants, women appeared in the construction business. This supposes a stipulation of prices for the services of bakers, smiths, shoemakers, masons and joiners that were proclaimed in 1460 in Graz for the Styria region after the introduction of new coins. A man bringing stones and mortar during construction of walls was supposed to get 8 *pfennigs*, while a woman carrying out the same work was paid a *pfennig* less (Popelka 1950, No. 97).

Non-professionally, women **at home** practised other trade services as well, which brought some extra money to the family coffers. In his application for a New Year award in 1613, a Ljubljana town gates watchman stated that he could not make a living out of his wage, had he not earned some money together with his daughter through sewing and knitting (Ljubljanska obrt, 1972, 82). Considering that he had a regular job, the responsibility for casual earnings most probably rested mainly on his daughter's shoulders. The manufacture of Dutch and Venetian lace was quite widespread in Ljubljana as well.

The "continental" towns, too, knew women as householders and implementers of various women's professions, e.g. **maidservants** and **nuns**. Maidservants (*di/e/rn*) are mentioned for Ptuj (Statut mesta Ptuj 1376, Art. 121, 124, 125, 179; Statut mesta Ptuj 1513, Art. 55). From 1286 we have some details of a certain *Sophia de Goritia* who apparently lived as a nun in the Convent of St. Mary near Aquileia (Kos, 1924–1925, 4).

The available sources refer to these professions/avocations only rarely.

VIII. Conclusion

In the end we are left with the conclusion that in view of the scattered and rare data on the participation of women in trades and crafts in the territory of Slovenia we may surmise that their participation was more or less negligible and that they were mainly limited to food trades. It is true, however, that the wives of master tradesmen bore, in connection with the activities of their husbands, an exacting burden of housekeeping, in which they had to take care of their own families as well as of their husbands' assistants and apprentices.

The fact that women – and not only tradeswomen – anonymously supported "three corners of their houses" is also reflected in the self-assertive text of a Slovene folk song depicting a wife's "kind" reception of her drunk husband on his night return home: "Oh, you drunken, dirty drone, all the day I've worked alone, you decide to get back home, when no longer you can roam. I shall take the biggest stick, and shall give you a good flick. I shall swing it on and on, until my strength at last has gone." (*O, ti mrha grda pjana, cel' dan moram delat' sama, nič poprej te ni domov, kot zvečer de b' ležat šou. Eno pal'co bom uzela, k'tera bo najbolj debela. Tol'ko časa čem mahat', dokler bo kaj v rok' držat'.*) – Even without participating in business life outside their homes, there were probably quite a few of the women who "wore the trousers" at home.

ŽENA V ROKODELSTVU IN OBRTI MESTNIH NASELBIN NA SLOVENSKEM V SREDNJEM IN ZGODNJEM NOVEM VEKU

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POVZETEK

Razmišljanju o delitvi vlog in dejavnosti po spolih v preteklosti sledi opredelitev pojma srednjeveško mesto; za boljše razumevanje okolja srednjeveških mest na ozemlju sodobne slovenske države so pojasnjene njihove tipološke značilnosti. Sledi predstavitev obrti, ki jih zasledimo v mestih na Slovenskem do začetka novega veka, ter virov, ki omogočajo preučevanje teh obrtnih strok. Nato je prikazana neposredna in posredna udeležba žena v obrteh v primorskih mestih ter v mestih v notranjosti slovenskega prostora.

V srednjem veku je imela žena pomembno vlogo v družinskem življenju (rojstvo, vzgoja otrok), v gospodinjstvu in gospodarstvu družine, zunaj hišnih zidov pa se je poslovno udeleževala in uveljavljala moški. Žena je opravljala nekatere obrti za domače potrebe.

Srednjeveški trg oz. mesto je bil neagrarna naselbina z določeno stopnjo avtonomije. V njej so živeli svobodni tržani oz. meščani, ki so se ukvarjali z obrtjo, trgovino, denarnimi posli ipd. Tovrstne naselbine so na Slovenskem nastajale od začetka 13. stoletja. Na ozemlju Slovenije je v procesu oblikovanja srednjeveških mestnih naselbin nastalo 23 mest in okrog 70 trgov. Mesta na Slovenskem so bila majhna. Štela so do nekaj tisoč prebivalcev. Pri njih opazamo tipološko dvojnost: mesta v primorju so se po vrsti značilnosti razlikovala od "celinskih", h katerim smemo zaradi njene podobne zgodovinske usode šteti tudi severnoprimeško Gorico.

Paleta rokodelstev in obrti, ki jih zasledimo pred sredo 16. stoletja v mestih na Slovenskem, je pestra. Majhnost tukajšnjih mest pa je razlog za manjšo specializacijo obrti, kot jo srečujemo v večjih evropskih mestih. Glavne skupine obrti na Slovenskem so bile prehranske, kožarske, tekstilne, kovinarske, lesne, gradbene, nekatere druge proizvodne ter storitvene obrti. Vzdevek "mojster" je označeval tudi redke učitelje oz. šolske mojstre. K netipičnim (obrnim) dejavnostim smemo šteti gostilničarstvo in gostiščarstvo, ki se spogledujeta s trgovino, medtem ko je solinarstvo blizu poljedelstvu in rudarstvu, ribolov pa nabiralništvu in lovu. Po sredi 16. stoletja je na Slovenskem znotraj obrtnih skupin prišlo do večje specializacije. Ob mestnih obrteh so v srednjem veku in kasneje na podeželju cvetele domače obrti.

Viri za preučevanje rokodelstev in obrti so neposredni materialni ostanki kot orodje in izdelki, posredni materialni ostanki kot ohranjeni simboli poklicnih združenj obrtnikov, likovne upodobitve in pisni viri, ki včasih vsebujejo tudi ilustracije.

V življenju v primorskih mestih so veljala patriarhalna življenjska pravila. Dekle je v rosnih letih živelo v varstvu očeta matere, brata, koga od sorodnikov ali drugega skrbnika, po poroki pa je bila žena v zakonu podrejena moževi oblasti.

Poslovno udejstvovanje žena v Kopru, Izoli, Piranu in Trstu je bilo omejeno, čeprav so imele v lasti premoženje in nepremično imetje, obrtne objekte kot peči, mline, oljne mline in plovila. Srečujemo več mestnih poklicev, v katerih so se udejele žene: Od "dostojnih" obrti, ki so jih opravljale, se v obravnavanih mestih omenja peka kruha. V Kopru so poznali ženske mlinarice. Od potrebnih, ki jim je javnost prilepila pečat nedostojnosti, se v Piranu in Trstu omenja poklic javnih ljubic. Žene so bile v Kopru, Izoli in Trstu branjevke na trgu; v Kopru in Izoli krčmarice, v Kopru so prodajale mleko, grozdje, vino, olje in drugo, koprške mlinarice pa žito in moko. Koprski statuti govorijo o Judu in Judinji, ki bi se želel(a) v Kopru ukvarjati z denarnimi posli.

Nekatere dejavnosti žena so bile povezane z morjem in agrarnim zaledjem. Koprčanke in Pirančanke so bile solinarke. Koprski statuti omenjajo ribiče "obeh spolov", pa tudi Slovane in Slovanke "obeh spolov", ki jih enotijo s kmeti.

Vsa omenjena mesta poznajo poklic plačane dékle, v Kopru tudi "sužnje" pri premožnejših meščanih. Čaščen poklic, v katerem srečamo Tržačanko, je bil redovnica (monialis), v Kopru pa naletimo na religiozo.

V nasprotju s primorjem so se v mestih v notranjosti obrtniki povezovali v obrtne bratovščine ali cehe, združenja obrtnikov iste stroke z izključno pravico do opravljanja poklica v mestnih naselbinah. Na Slovenskem so se cehi pojavljali od 14. stoletja. Varovali so pravice članov pred konkurenco in urejali vprašanja proizvodnje. Članstvo v cehu je bilo obvezno tudi za žene obrtniških mojstrov. Ti so namreč morali biti oženjeni. Ko je v 17. stoletju prišlo do "cehovske zapore", ki je omejila število mojstrov na obstoječe stanje, se je mojstrstvo prenašalo po družinski tradiciji, tudi po ženski liniji.

Tudi v "celinskih" mestih na Slovenskem so se žene uveljavljale predvsem v prehranskih strokah. Od slednjih je bila – kot na Primorskem – na prvem mestu pekarska obrt. Žene so se ukvarjale z branjarstvom oz. krošnjarstvom. Bila jim je odprta možnost udejstvovanja v storitveni obrti – padarstvu in nekaterih drugih obrteh.

Žene so doma nepoklicno opravljale tudi druge obrtne storitve, ki so prinašale dobiček v družinski proračun (šivanje, pletenje, čipkarstvo). Tudi mesta v notranjosti so poznala ženske kot hišne posestnice ter razne ženske poklice, npr. dékle, redovnice.

Za zaključek preostaja ugotovitev, da smemo iz raztresenosti in redkosti podatkov o udeležbi žene v rokodelstvu in obrti v srednjeveških in zgodnjemodernih mestih na Slovenskem sklepati, da je bila ta bolj kot ne zanemarljiva. Omejena je bila predvsem na prehranske dejavnosti. Pač pa so žene obrtnih mojstrov v zvezi z dejavnostjo svojih mož nosile breme gospodinjstva, v katerem so morale skrbeti tako za lastno družino kot za možovo obrtniško ekipo: za pomočnike in vajence.

Ključne besede: žene, obrt, rokodelstvo, srednji vek, zgodnji novi vek, Slovenija, mesta

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IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES OF PEOPLEHOOD IN HABSBURG – AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO PEOPLES AND NATIONS IN ISTRIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that modernist studies in nationalism, focusing on the nationalist interpretations of 'peoplehood' as they have developed in the 18th and 19th century, have largely omitted that 'the nation' has been part of peoples' imagination and political ideologies ever since the upcoming modern world system in the 16th century. This article focuses on alternative imaginations and interpretations of 'the nation' as they have developed in the imperial discourses of Venice as well as of the Habsburg Empire. Special focus is given to the way, in which the Habsburg ethnographers have discussed and conceptualised the Istrian peoples and suggests that those 'imperial visions' are still part of the repertoire of identity in Istria today.

Keywords: ideologies of peoplehood, imperial visions of nationhood, Habsburg Empire, Venetian Republic; collective identities in Istria

IDEOLOGIE IMPERIALI DI POPULISMO NELL'IMPERO ASBURGICO – UN APPROCCIO ALTERNATIVO PER LO STUDIO DELLE POPOLAZIONI E DELLE NAZIONI IN ISTRIA

SINTESI

Il presente articolo sostiene che gli studi modernisti sul nazionalismo, concentrandosi sulla decostruzione delle interpretazioni nazionaliste di 'nazionalità' (nationhood) del XVIII e XIX secolo, hanno spesso omesso che il concetto di 'nazione' era già parte delle ideologie politiche sin dallo sviluppo del sistema-mondo moderno discusso da Wallerstein. L'articolo si concentra sulle visioni ed interpretazioni alternative di 'nazione' elaborate nei discorsi imperiali veneziani ed asburgici. L'articolo presenta in particolare le concezioni e le rappresentazioni dei popoli istriani elaborate dagli etnografi asburgici e suggerisce che tali 'visioni imperiali' fanno ancora parte del repertorio dell'identità attuale dell'Istria.

Parole chiave: ideologie del populismo, visioni imperiali di nazionalità, Impero asburgico, Repubblica di Venezia, identità collettive in Istria

Over the last decades, the concept of the 'nation' has been often discussed as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1984) constructed in the 18th and 19th centuries by cultural and political elites. According to Gellner, nationalism – that is, a political ideology whose modernity is generally unquestioned "invents nations where they do not exist" (Gellner, 1964, 168). According to Hobsbawm, it is even "pointless to discuss nation and nationality except in so far as both relate to the territorial and especially the nation state" (Hobsbawm, 1990, 10). Considering, however, exclusively 'modern' nations as they were and are imagined over the last two centuries, these influential modernist studies have largely ignored that 'the nation' has been part of people's imagination long before 'modernity'. This paper will investigate how nations have been imagined otherwise than in terms of the nation state. It will concentrate especially on the imperial discourse of nations, as it has developed since the 16th century and as it has co-existed with 'nationalist' visions of the nation in the Habsburg Empires up to the 20th century.

There is no doubt that there is a fundamental difference between the way 'nations' are imagined by Empires and the way they imagine themselves. The difference might in fact be so fundamental, that it is legitimate to define the modern nation – as Gellner, Hobsbawm and other scholars of nationalism do – as radically new and different in kind. In fact, during the 18th and 19th centuries, 'the nation' seems to turn from a category describing the cultural *diversity* of *other* peoples, into a category defining the *specificity* of a people from *within*. It also changes from an imperial category of cultural, social and political inequality into a platform for emancipation. Despite these and other fundamental differences in imagining nations, I argue, there is a measure of continuity: the way peoples were imagined by the 'imperial other' must have necessarily informed and influenced the way they were imagined and constructed by emerging national elites from within. By investigating the imperial ideology of peoplehood, this paper discusses the modern nation not as an 'invention' but as an outcome of negotiation and contention between imperial and the nationalist images of the world and its peoples.

Discovering Diversity

The growing interdependence of the consolidating world-system especially since the discovery of the New World in the 16th century (Wallerstein, 1974) led to an increasing demand for an explanation of the diversity of the world's peoples, cultures, languages, religious beliefs and so on. Certainly, descriptions about cultural diversity are much older,¹ but the discovery and colonisation of overseas territories changed the European perspective of seeing 'the Other' by confronting the European powers with an earlier, supposedly unimaginable cultural diversity, which puzzled the European elites and necessitated a new perspective from which to consider those people as well as their own relation to them (Todorov, 1982; Anderson, 1984).

Trying to make sense of the newly discovered 'otherness', the nation, which existed as a vague and by no means clearly defined idiom to refer to groups of "strangers" (Hobsbawm, 1996, 27), appeared as a handy cognitive tool to grasp the phenomena; and the bible gave an authoritative explanation for the existence of the multitude of nations into which the world was 'obviously' divided: the biblical story of Noahic dispersal and the idea that his three sons and their wives were the ancestors of all peoples remained "inescapable facts of ancient history well into the first half of the 18th century" (Kidd, 1999, 35).

Not only did the classification of the world's people into the descendants of Ham, Japheth and Sem offer an authoritative explanation for people's diversity, it also legitimised the hierarchically ordered inequality between them: according to the biblical account, Noah had cursed his son Ham to serve his brothers (Genesis 9, 24-27). It seemed convincingly evident, then, to consider the colonised peoples as the cursed progeny of Ham,² while the European elites generally defined themselves as offspring of Japheth³ (Kidd, 1999, 29f.). Although the biblical origins of the nation were secularised by scientific theories in the 18th and 19th centuries, the hierarchical order of the 'peoples' remained an intrinsic feature of most categories (such as nation, ethnic group, race, clan or tribe) applied to describe cultural otherness.⁴

1 Military reports had analysed their adversaries' political systems and war strategies, crusaders had brought accounts about other peoples back into the European centres, travellers and merchants had told stories about 'strange' and far away places long before 'modernity'. Those narrations about 'other peoples' fluctuated according to ideological, strategic or simply sensational reasons – as Gurevič points out, and as Eco has brilliantly portrayed in his book 'Baudolino' – most often between observations and invention (Gurevič, 1985; Eco, 2000).

2 Once formulated, theological ethnography helped to 'make sense' of the cultural diversity of the newly discovered peoples and to legitimise existing privileges of the rulers over the ruled also at home. Kidd points out that the peasants of Poland were considered as much the cursed descendants of Ham as were the peoples of Africa and the Americas (Kidd, 2000, 29f.).

3 The patrimony of Sem was – as the name tells – associated with the 'Semites'.

4 This hierarchical inclination does not surprise if one considers that the image of the world was based on an hierarchical order where, "[...] all relationships are vertical, running from above to below; all beings are distributed on various planes according to their degree of perfection which depends on their relative proximity to God" (Gurevič, 1985, 70).

Venice and the Discovery of Its Peoples

The discovery of new territories and peoples was not limited to the New World: Woolf points out e.g. that the Republic of Venice enlarged its territories by 35% between 1570 and 1630 (Wallerstein, 1974, 216). The conversion from a republic of merchants and sailors to one which ruled peasants and extensive stretches of land as well, forced Venice to acquire a different perspective on itself and to 'imagine' the peoples now under its rule. Throughout the 17th and 18th century, the Republic developed an imperial discourse which was based "on the articulation of an imperial imbalance, emphasising the challenge of backwardness and development, the value of civilisation over barbarism, the anthropological classification of the Slavs, [...] and the ascription of national identity in an imperial context" (Wolff, 2001, 7f.). The inhabitants of the new territories in the Dalmatian Hinterland were defined as "Dalmatians, Morlaks, Illyrians, as well as Albanians and Bosnians, Serbs and Croats and especially Slavs" (ibid.), but none of these categories was clearly defined and the various classes of allegedly distinct peoples often overlapped and merged. Furthermore, the new categories cut across and mixed emic visions and divisions of belonging (local, socio-professional, corporate etc.) so that attempts to classify the existing cultural differences in the Southern provinces into 'ethnic' or 'national' categories resulted in considerable confusion and sometimes contradicting taxonomies (Kidd, 1999, 61). But in a sense, the confusion created by the attempts to classify the Dalmatian peoples into 'nations' did not really matter: for the Venetian elites, the categorisation of 'the Other' served to confirm their own imperial superiority. In this perspective, the impossibility to categorise these peoples of the periphery into clear-cut communities, added to their exoticism, strengthened imperial fantasies about them and helped to imagine the Southern provinces as "Venice's America, [...] close at hand, just across the Adriatic, replete with savage tribes and civilising missions" (Wolff, 2001, 5).

Under Venetian rule, Istrian coastal towns were not the subject of the new national discourses. The relations between the imperial centre and its coastal allied bases were well defined by tradition and institutional practices, and there was no need to conceptualise them in a new national form. The hierarchising discourse which Venice applied to its peripheries in the South, was instead projected from the Istrian coastal centres unto their own rural hinterland, where the Istrian elites discovered their own civilising mission along with their own 'exotic' peoples, which – in accordance with impe-

rial discourse – were imagined increasingly as 'Slavs'. Only after the disintegration of the Republic in 1797 and with the integration of Istria into the Illyrian provinces and finally into the Habsburg Empire were they subjected to national and ethnic classification by the new political centres.

Habsburg and the Discovery of Istria

Although Trieste and parts of Istria had been part of the Habsburg lands ever since the 13th century, the first discernible interest the Empire showed in the region dates from the 1719, the year in which Trieste was declared the Empire's free port.⁵ When Venetian Istria was integrated into the Empire in 1813 the peninsula's economic life had already gravitated towards the growing Trieste. Economically, the region was of interest above all as a supplier of food and labour for Trieste, and could therefore have been considered exclusively as part of the latter.⁶ From a geo-political point of view, however, it was of great strategic importance for the southeastern policy of the Empire and consequently attracted the imperial center's direct interest with Pola/Pula, which became the empire's military harbour in 1848. In the following years, the railway connection between the Habsburg imperial centre and its Istrian periphery was opened, making the region accessible to representatives of the Empire as well as to tourists and travellers of all kinds.

The first inventory of the Istrian peninsula by the Habsburg administrators, made between 1817 and 1825 (Sošić, 2001, 71f.), showed that the region was among the poorest regions of the Empire. The evaluation was unequivocal – nobody doubted the backwardness of the peninsula, which was further highlighted by the contrasting modernity of Trieste, which was one of the most vital and modern cities of the monarchy. Over subsequent years Istria turned – along with Dalmatia, Bosnia and other Southeastern European regions – into "a representative model of underdevelopment" (Wolff, 1994, 9).

In the middle of the 19th century, the first ethnographic inquiries were conducted in Istria, as elsewhere in the Empire, in order to establish the linguistic and cultural composition of the Habsburg's peoples (Czoernig, 1855). While the 'national question' was already a well-established issue on the political and social agenda of the Empire, the majority of the Istrian population – that is, its rural masses – still defined themselves according to old patterns where territorial affiliation, marriage-circles, socio-professional membership, family genealogy and so on were of much greater social relevance than belonging to a 'nation' or even a language

5 The declaration was a clear sign of the Empire's determination to modernise its economic course and its infrastructures, administration etc. with it. Trieste became Habsburg's project of modernity and quickly turned into the new regional as well as imperial centre, which attracted thousands and thousands of new settlers and administrators.

6 The region was, in fact, perceived increasingly as the trade town's 'natural' hinterland.

group (Moritsch, 1991, 49; Cole, 1985). In other words, while the nation was doubtlessly part of people's imagination regarding *other* people, it was still an unimagined category of self-ascription for large parts of the population. As many other peripheral regions of the Habsburg territory, Istria, which appeared to an outsider as a multitude of microcosms (s. Apollonio, 1998; Ivetic, 2000 et al.), puzzled and intrigued the imperial observers and members of the rising national elites alike. Although the motivations were different, both of these tried to re-interpret and classify the cultural variety of Istria according to 'national' categories.

Classifying Cultural Diversity

The Empire's administrative representatives generally saw the Istrian cultural mosaic as atavistic and as a historical remnant, which fit in perfectly with the desolate economic and infrastructural 'backwardness' of the region. Comparable to the interpretation of ethnic groups in the United States of the 1960's (Glazer, Moynihan, 1973), the multitude of 'nationalities' was seen as a remainder of the past which was expected to disappear in the process of modernisation. Various factors – the necessary organisation of a common public imperial sphere, the continuous integration of an ever greater number of segments of the population into the common political and economic realm, the new laws on election, the language rights given in the 1860s and 70s to 'all nations of the Empire' made it necessary to simplify the complex and puzzling world of existing local, social and corporate identities. In the census of 1880, the majority of the "ethnic nuances" detected in the first ethnographic investigations in the 1850s (Czoernig, 1855) had been summed up by the administration as 'Italians', 'Slovenes' and 'Serbo-Croats' – "as they did not know how to handle otherwise the amount of mixture and hybridity" (Stradner, 1897, 101). Not only nationalists, but the Empire's administrators as well classified the Istrian peoples in increasingly homogenised 'national' groups and it is, in fact, hard to determine if the national movements had informed the administrative categories or vice versa. It is, however, certain that the very Habsburg bureaucracy institutionalised the categories in terms of which the people would increasingly model their sense of belonging, loyalty and identity well before the arrival of the 'nation state'.

By the end of the 19th century, Istria had turned into a region of contesting ideologies of peoplehood: the Italian elites in Trieste and elsewhere increasingly imagined Istria as Italian, stressing that the rural, predominantly Slav hinterland belonged 'naturally' to the urban, historically Italophone centres; whereas the Slav elites (Croats, Slovenes, Serbo-Croat, Illyrian, Yugoslav

etc.) in Zagreb, Ljubljana, Trieste and elsewhere increasingly stressed the Slav character of the peninsula, insisting that the Italophone urban centres were but islands in the Slav lands to which they were 'naturally' supposed to belong. For the Habsburgs' representatives, finally, the Italians, Slovenes and Serbo-Croats were simply subjects of the Empire and as such an integral part of the imperial mosaic of peoples. In a scenario of increasing national conflict, where tensions between 'Italians' and 'Slavs' increasingly coined the political and social atmosphere even in the Istrian coastal towns,⁷ the Habsburg centre offered an 'alternative' interpretation of the national paradigm, which will be further investigated in the following sections.

The Empire's Ideology of Peoplehood

Parallel to the homogenisation of differences in cultural and linguistic categories by the imperial administration as well as by nationalist movements, Habsburg ethnography, established as a discipline at the Habsburg universities directly in the after-math of 1848, developed a different image and 'imagination' of the Empire's peoples, focusing on their multiplicity rather than on their uniformity. In 1855, Karl von Czoernig published the already mentioned ethnographic maps (Czoernig, 1855), where Istria was presented as a mosaic of cultures, languages and peoples. In the same spirit of ethnographic inquiries, the Archduke Rudolph had in the 1880s initiated the publication of *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (The Austrian-Hungarian monarchy in word and picture), a series of 24 volumes about the Empire's various regions and peoples, among which a special volume was edited in 1891 about Istria and the Littoral. In 1894, the Society of Austrian Folklore was founded in Vienna and one year later, the Museum of Austrian Folklore, which included also Istrian products, opened its doors under the guidance of Michael Haberlandt and Wilhelm Hein. These 'ethnographic projects' were by no means isolated scientific enterprises, but enjoyed the vivid interest of educated circles of the Empire: the Ethnographic Society numbered about a thousand members at the end of its first year already. Among them featured "scholars [...] artists, nobility [...] high-ranking officers and civil servants [...] prelates of the Austrian clerical institutions and monastic orders ...teachers, clergymen and priests... who live in closest contact with the native people and know them best" (Haberlandt, 1895 in: Schindler, 1992, 63). They were supposed to give an 'authoritative' and accurate picture about the Empire's people, which again was to be diffused via popular publications, exhibitions and other educational measures to the public at large.

7 By the turn of the century, the attempt to fix bilingual inscriptions at a public building in Piran, for example, had to be accompanied by military protection (Veiter, 1965, 43).

The representation of the multitude of imperial nations and nationalities – investigated and popularised by such ethnographic projects – was supposed to give legitimacy and scientific authority to the dominant imperial structures: the smaller the ethnic components of the Imperial national mosaic, the more colourful were the ethnic maps, and the more the Empire would therefore appear to be the 'right' political organisation for the "true people" (Johler, 1997, 345f.). The fact that the members of the Imperial family acted as patrons of these ethnographic projects was a sign – albeit a symbolic one – that the Empire recognised and appreciated the variety and multitude of its peoples. Imperial acceptance was supposed to encourage national groups to seek their 'natural' centre in the Empire (and not in the nation) and to augment or restore imperial coherence and stability (Johler, 1998, 45ff.). Besides their timely specificities, the idea behind these different 'ethnographic' projects shows many parallels with today's discourse on multiculturalism: The simple fact of knowing about the multitude of cultures and nations was seen as the very basis of tolerance and understanding among the 'nations' and as a necessary condition for the unity and the stability of the common state. The ethnographic projects thus aimed to produce this knowledge and to spread it among the peoples of the Empire in order to inform and educate the masses about the cultural variety of the Empire as well as about the cultural specificities of its constituent parts.

Imperial Images of the 'Real' Nations in Istria

Unlike some of his colleagues, who emphasised language as a sufficient indicator for determining people's national belonging, Czoernig presented nationality at the Vienna statistical congress in 1857 as a property of a group which resulted from an complex interaction of language use, customs, physical characteristics and what one might call mentality (Arel, 2002, 95). Nationalities and nations consequently had to be classified and investigated on the basis of careful ethnographic observation and research. From this point of view the great visible cultural variety of the its population turned Istria "as small as it might be" into "one of the most interesting regions of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy" (Moser, 1909, 24).

Unlike the bureaucratic authorities, the ethnographers considered the ethnic diversity of the Istrian population not as an administrative problem that had to be resolved and eliminated on the road to modernity, but rather as a scientifically precious testimony of former times, which had to be studied, analysed and documented for posterity. In accordance with the pre-

dominant evolutionist theories of the time, different nations, people, races, tribes and so on were understood as representing various stages of the development of humankind.⁸ The peoples of Istria as well as of other parts of South Eastern Europe were considered authentic 'primitive Europeans', whose investigation would supply the still missing cultural and historical link between African 'primitive people' on the one hand and 'modern European man' on the other. Consequently, by examining the cultural variety of Istrian peoples, the ethnographers not only expected new insights into the specific cultural composition of its Southern region, but also into the general history of mankind.

Although ongoing modernisation, especially in and around Trieste, continued to impoverish and standardise the 'true primitive folk culture', ethnographers believed that in the backwardness of the Istrian hinterland there were still "clear traces" which allowed "to recognise, to explain and to portray the real people, whose primitive economy reflects a primitive way of life and an aboriginal state of mind, in its natural form," (Haberlandt in: Wörner 1997, 400). Furthermore, this 'strictly academic' interest was often clearly tinged not only with imperial overtones but also with a prevailing nostalgic view of primitive life: the 'true people', untouched by modernity and its decadent influences, seemed not only a fascinating relic of bygone times, but also a desirable alternative to present and future.

The interest and nostalgia with which the Habsburg ethnographers viewed the life of Istria's rural population, comparing their moral strength with the decadence of modern urban life, reveals the parallels between the imperial ethnographers and nationalists anywhere at the time: throughout Europe intellectuals had discovered peasantry as the moral and historic foundation of 'their' people and nation. Whilst, however, national ethnographers investigated the lives of 'their' peasants and collected and analysed the artefacts of 'their' people, giving historical authenticity and continuity to their specific national projects 'from within', the Viennese ethnographers pursued an imperial and distinctively anti-nationalist project: what nationalists celebrated as a 'national revival' seemed to them a distinctively modern phenomenon, if not a 'modern invention', which could not claim a seemingly timeless history. They declared the folk art, to which the national movements referred in order to prove the specificity of 'their' nation, to be "nothing else than peasant-ised and rural-ised bourgeois art" (Haberlandt, 1911, 190). According to the Habsburg ethnographers, modern national movements were not so much revitalising dormant nations as destroying authentic 'true' peoples by deforming and transforming their 'real' life-style and their 'authentic' nature. The

8 Edward B. Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation* was published in 1865 in London, his influential *Primitive Culture* in 1871.

very success of national ideologies and movements was interpreted by them as a clear sign of ongoing impoverishment and decline of the 'primitive' nations and nationalities. Investigating the remains of these populations in peripheral zones, far away from the influence of the state and urban life, the Habsburg ethnographers hoped to find a "principle which goes beyond nationalities" (Haberlandt, 1859, 1). This principle would allow them to prove the fallacy of modern nations and to prove that the national movements were but ideological constructs assembled by modern political and cultural elites.

The Istrian Nation(s) – Integrated Cultural Diversity

This mixture of scientific approach and ideological orientation might explain why Habsburg ethnographers insisted on stressing the coexistence of a multitude of ethnic groups and nations in Istria. Stressing the diversity of ethnographic variations, and especially the hybrid mixtures between them, Habsburg ethnographers offered an alternative to the contesting national discourses – which presented Istria as either Italian or Slav – by deconstructing the seemingly compact 'national groups'. This framework, being ideological as well as scientific, also explains why the Habsburg ethnographers, although insisting on the cultural diversity of the countless 'ethnic nuances', did not investigate all of them equally. Their interest focused on the 'truly authentic people', whereby 'authenticity' was defined by a blend of peripherality and antiquity, that is, by their very 'backwardness' in space as well as in time. The 'real people' were characterised furthermore by their *lack* of political mobilisation and 'national' awareness. The Istrian coastal towns, which were already spaces of national quarrels between Italians and Slavs, had therefore simply disqualified for ethnographic research. The Italians, predominantly town-dwellers, were considered only of ethnographic interest where it seemed possible to trace a direct line back to the 'Romans'. The majority of the Italian communities were, instead, considered as "sons of Italian immigrants" (Stradner, 1897, 111), which could consequently not claim any kind of 'authenticity'. The main attention was thus focused on the hinterland and there on the most peripheral communities with their predominantly slavically speaking population.

The ethnographers' pet ethnic group were the *Tschitschen*, "a Romanian or Croat-Romanian mixed people" living in the very Istrian Hinterland, which "called themselves Vlachs" but referred to by their neighbours as "Čiči" (Stradner, 1897, 111).⁹ In 1891, Spinčić declared the Tschitschen's far-reaching assimilation to the surrounding Croats "in life-style, occupation, costume (including the nomenclature of various dresses), in custom and habits". Only the inhabitants of

the village of Žejane, he notes, still speak "a Romanian ('čiribirish') language, loaded by more than a third with Croat words" (Spinčić, 1891, 212).

The "mysterious Tschitschen" (Stradner, 1897, 111), who can be considered as the late Istrian counterpart of the Dalmatian Morlakks, which had puzzled and attracted European intellectuals throughout the 17th and 18th century (s. Wolff, 2001, 126ff.). The travelers and ethnographers of the 19th century turned such 'Rumanians' into the subject of manifold and sometimes contradictory descriptions. What was common to all, however, was the emphasis on the Tschitschen's backwardness, their poverty and their marginality, in short: their 'primitiveness'. Re-formulating these qualities with the new ethnographic vocabulary of 'peoples', 'nations' and 'ethnic groups', the socially and economically underprivileged Tschitschen were turned into the quintessential 'real people', which the ethnographers had hoped to find, and at the same time became the prototype of the 'Istrian' as such. The Tschitschen were, however, not only 'imagined' as a truly authentic primitive people; due to the attention they had received among the ethnographically interested circles of the Empire, this 'imagined community' was institutionalised: in 1888 a school was opened, which was supposed to "save" the "Rumanians" of the Čepik Lake "from the further threatening Slavisation" (Stradner, 1897, 111).

It is interesting to see, how the Tschitschens were 'slavised' in the ongoing investigations of the Habsburg ethnographers. In 1897, Stradner still points to their "beautiful Roman heads", which distinguished them clearly from the "other Slavs" and which he interpreted as a proof of their Rom(ani)an ancestors (Stradner, 1897, 110). In 1909 Moser, on the other hand, points to their "distinct facial traces and their curved eyebrows" which for him were a clear sign of their "far Mongolian origin" (Moser, 1909, 26f.). This change of interpretation and perception reflects the changing mental geography of backwardness: while the ethnographers had initially searched for the foundations of the Europeans in (Roman) antiquity, that is in *time*, they later increasingly searched for them in the contemporary 'Slavic' peripheries, that is, in *space*. It is hard to say if this change of categorisation in Istria was informed by former Venetian imperial discourses, which – as mentioned above – had coined the perspective of the Istrian elites in regard to their Hinterland, or by the fact that the Slavs were considered as more 'loyal' subjects of the Empire than the Italians, which were increasingly attracted – or thought to be attracted – by 'their' nation state founded in 1860. Although the Tschitschens as the prototype of the 'true Istrian people' were more and more 'slavised' in ensuing ethnographic descriptions, they were never considered simply as 'Slavs' but as a 'mixed people', a co-

9 Moser refers to this group also as Čičen, Chichii as well as Ciribirzi (Moser, 1909).

notation which seemed to fit for the peninsula's rural populations in general. The imperial ethnographers were puzzled and fascinated by the hybridity of the Istrian peoples, where "the most contrasting nationalities merge. One can find not only croatised Serbs and serbicised Croats, but also croatised Vlachs, furthermore italianised Croats, who have partly even forgotten their mother tongue [...] elsewhere you can meet croatised Italians [...] and finally a hybrid mixture, with Italian costumes, Slavic customs and a language which is a melange of Serbian and Italian words" (Czoernig jr in: Stradner, 1897, 111). The ethnographic writings of the time therefore not only portray a variety of distinct and specific Istrian 'peoples', but also the image of an Istrian people, to which the ethnographers ascribed a common origin, common customs, artifacts, culture, mentality and so on.¹⁰ By foregrounding the diversity of Istrian peoples and conceiving Istrians as their summation, Habsburg ethnographers in fact represented Istria as a melting pot and the Istrians as the 'real' as well as the 'ideal' Habsburg people, one that was at once culturally mixed and manifold united in its adherence to the Empire.

The image Habsburg ethnographers developed of "their" Istrian province was therefore all but coherent. They constructed both Istrian diversity and unity – but they neither *invented* the peninsula's cultural diversity nor did they invent *nations*. They rather highlighted and reinterpreted existing discourses of difference and diversity. By reformulating social categories of practice and experience in the new national vocabulary, however, they gave (albeit on very flimsy grounds) 'scientific' and 'objective' legitimacy to the 'imagined' national communities.

With the Empire's decline, the imperial discourse of 'true peoplehood' lost its authority and could be either ignored or silenced as outdated 'imperial ideology'. But the essentialised imaginations of 'otherness' were readily taken up, re-evaluated and re-used by the national elites and states who took power in Istria during the 20th century. Italian nationalists, for example, could refer to Habsburg writings in order to show the 'primitiveness' and 'backwardness' of Istrians, thus legitimising the Italian civilising mission over the peninsula's rural populations. At the same time, Yugoslav ethnography was able to take up the ethnographic collections and writings in order to prove that the 'authentic Istrians' were Slavs, giving 'scientific' and 'objective' legitimacy to their claims on Istria.

As for 'the' Istrian people who the Habsburg ethnographers had constructed as the 'ideal people' in the Empire – multicultural, a-national and hybridised – it was silenced as an official category of belonging after the end of the Empire. Under the ensuing Italian rule, the cate-

gory 'Istrian' was radically nationalised. Although the reference to a multicultural 'Istrianity' did survive as social experience and practice in everyday life, the 'Istrian' was now, at least officially, Italian. After World War II, Tito officially addressed 'the' Istrian people, again referring to the trans- or a-national connotations of the term, trying to bridge the national rifts which the two world wars, as well as ideological and the violent conflict over Istria's 'national' affiliations had left behind among the Istrian peoples. The post-war exodus from the region, however, seems to suggest that many Istrians did not believe in a possible 'common peoplehood' that time.

Istrianity – An Alternative Ideology of Peoplehood in Today's Europe

'Istrianity' was institutionalised as an optional regional category in the Yugoslav census in the 70's and triumphantly revived with the Slovene and Croatian 'political spring' in the 80's. Many Istrians – whether intellectuals or not – now uphold the notion of an historical Istrianity which had been dismembered into ill-fitting, extraneous national categories by nationalist ideologies. Istrianity is now presented as the real, 'authentic nature' of the Istrian people, who was forced into national classifications by the nationalising policies of the Habsburg, the Italian and the Yugoslav state. Much of today's discourse on 'Istrianity' is still reminiscent of the writings of Habsburg ethnographers, with the fundamental difference that today the Istrians speak up for themselves. Today, Istrianity is defined 'from within'.

As in the last century, however, the concept of a trans-national or a-national Istrianity is framed by a clear political project: the region's ambition to join the European Union. In a way, the once idealised people of the Habsburg Empire at this juncture presents itself as the ideal *European* people. As in the past, however, Istrianità as an alternative ideology of peoplehood is not uncontested: As a border-transcending, hybrid, cultural and national 'melange', 'the' Istrian people fit perfectly into a Europe imagined as an association of *regions*. By contrast, a Europe imagined as a collection of *nation-states* projects its ideal people(s) as citizens, that is as Italians, Slovenes and Croats, willing to co-operate peacefully with the citizens of their neighbouring states. Which of the 'imagined communities' will be conceived as more real, more primordial and essential in the future and whether the Istrian population will imagine itself as 'Istrian' or as 'Italian', as 'Slovene', 'Croat' or other, will also depend on how a united Europe will imagine "it's" peoples and on how this imagination will inform the institutional structures in which collective identities are essentialised in public discourse and social practice.

10 Emilio Frauer, for example, refers the origins of the Istrians to the Colches, Bildermann claims their Celto-ligurian origins, Hoernes traces them back to Illyrians and so on (Stradner, 1897).

*Istria on the Czornig's ethnic map (1855).
Istra na Czoernigovi etnični karti (1855).*

IMPERIALNE IDEOLOGIJE LJUDSTEV V HABSBUŠKI MONARHIJI – ALTERNATIVNI PRISTOP K LJUDSTVOM IN NARODOM V ISTRI

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POVZETEK

Avtorica članka razmišlja, kako so modernistične študije o nacionalizmu, ki so osredotočajo izključno na nacionalistične interpretacije "nacionalnosti", kot so se razvijale v 18. in 19. stoletju, bolj ali manj zanemarjale "alternativne" vizije ljudstev in narodov, razvijajočih se v povezavi z utrjevanjem cesarstev in držav v 16. stoletju. Članek na osnovi domneve, da je bil "narod" del ljudske domišljije dolgo pred "sodobnostjo", raziskuje odnos političnih elit v Benetkah in habsburški monarhiji do "istrskega ljudstva". Razpravlja o "imperialnih vizijah" nacionalnosti, ki so obstajale pred in naposled skupaj z nacionalističnimi interpretacijami o tem, kaj narod je in kaj bi tudi moral biti. Avtorica meni, da so takšne "imperialne vizije" močno vplivale na način, kako so si nacionalne elite zamišljale narode in kako so se narodne identitete razvijale v 19. in 20. stoletju, ko so ljudje zahtevali pravico, da se opredelijo in pokažejo, kako si "zamišljajo" sami sebe. Čeprav so te alternativne vizije nacionalnosti izgubile svojo veljavo ob zatonu habsburške monarhije, pa so – vsaj tako domneva avtorica članka – vendarle del repertoarja Istranov, kar zadeva njihovo identiteto, in so zatoj na voljo za novo razlago skupnih identitet v Evropi. Članek zagovarja misel, da analiza alternativnih ideologij nacionalnosti odpira nove možnosti za razumevanje zapletenosti istrske stvarnosti in tudi za preučevanje nacionalizma na splošno, s tem da se razširi diskusija o "modernem narodu", tako da nanj ne gledamo več zgolj kot na "iznajdbo" nacional(istič)nih elit, marveč bolj kot na izid pogajanj in spora med "imperialnim" in "nacionalnim".

Ključne besede: ideologije ljudstev, imperialne vizije nacionalnosti, habsbuški imperij, Beneška republika, skupne identitete v Istri

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PATRIARCHI E PRETI: L'ELEMENTO RELIGIOSO NELL'IDENTITÀ ETNICA FRIULANA

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SINTESI

L'articolo è una riflessione sul nesso tra religione ed identità etnica, in particolare nel caso del Friuli della seconda metà del '900. Nella prima parte si sintetizza il quadro teorico di riferimento, nella seconda proporrò un'interpretazione della rilevanza dell'elemento religioso nella mobilitazione etnica friulana del XX secolo. Viene presa in considerazione la corrente del friulanismo più vicina agli ambienti religiosi. Si analizza la mitopoiesi specifica di alcuni gruppi di tale natura e si illustrano brevemente i principali miti da essi elaborati: il mito del common descent, Aquileia romana ed Aquileia cristiana, il mito della "razza", l'origine della lingua, il Patriarcato Aquileiese come mitomotore, il mitomotore coloniale, i confini, il polietnismo, l'etnotipo psicologico.

Parole chiave: identità friulana, religione, miti, Friuli, secolo XX

PATRIARCHS AND PRIESTS: THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE FRIULIAN ETHNIC IDENTITY

ABSTRACT

The article is a meditation over the relation between religion and ethnic identity, particularly the case of Friuli of second half of 1900. The first part deals with a synthesis of the theoretical outline of reference, whereas in the second part I will propose an interpretation of the relevance of the religious element in the Friulian ethnic mobilization of the XX century. The Friulian movement closest to the religious sphere will be taken into consideration. The specific mythopoeia of some groups of such nature will be analysed and the main myths elaborated by them will be briefly discussed: the myth of common descent, of Roman Aquileia and Christian Aquileia, the myth of the "race", the origin of language, the Patriarchate of Aquileia as a starting point, the spur of colonialism, the boundaries, the multiethnicity and their different philosophies.

Key words: ethnic identity, religion, myths, Friuli, 20th century

INTRODUZIONE

Tra i modi di concettualizzare l'analisi del rapporto tra religione ed eticità uno è quello di distinguere tra un approccio sincronico ed uno diacronico. Il caso empirico oggetto di questo studio oggi sarà affrontato secondo questa bipartizione, prestando comunque maggiore attenzione agli aspetti soggettivi.

	Fenomeni oggettivi	Fenomeni soggettivi
Analisi diacronica (o delle dinamiche etniche)	Storia etnoreligiosa di un gruppo A	Interazione tra mobilitazione etnica e fenomeni religiosi B
Analisi sincronica (o dell'identità etnica)	Ruolo della religione in relazione agli altri elementi oggettivi dell'eticità C	Interazione tra identità etnica e religiosa D

Il primo tipo (A) di analisi diacronica del rapporto tra eticità e religione consiste nel considerare la religione un elemento oggettivo dell'eticità e nell'analizzarne l'evoluzione storica, come si farebbe con qualunque altro degli elementi definiti di volta in volta costituenti l'eticità in senso oggettivo.

Il secondo tipo (B) di analisi diacronica, che potremmo definire soggettiva, si interessa all'evoluzione dei rapporti tra religione e consapevolezza etnica, dunque in particolare al ruolo dei fattori religiosi nel momento di transizione tra la fase storica delle eticità solo o soprattutto oggettive a quella delle eticità anche o solo soggettive. A tal fine è utile esaminare quale può essere il ruolo del clero. Il clero ha spesso giocato una parte importante nei movimenti etnici. Per tale attività di natura sociale del clero si possono individuare una serie di spiegazioni. Tra le più chiare troviamo: l'appartenenza etnica del clero (spiegazione in odore di primordialismo), la convenienza in termini di status sociale o di potere (motivazione più vicina allo strumentalismo), le priorità valoriali del clero e le sue funzioni non-religiose (intellettuale popolare). Storicamente si è visto che in Europa, soprattutto Orientale, il clero ha avuto un ruolo di rilievo nei primi momenti di vita dei movimenti etnici e che i suoi membri hanno svolto la funzione di intellettuali nazionali, coloro che nella pseudo-ipotesi Ruritania di Gellner (Gellner, 1985, 68) riscoprono le tradizioni popolari e producono miti etnici.

Un secondo modo di analizzare il rapporto tra religione ed eticità nelle dinamiche è quello di introdurre una terza variabile, lo stato, ed occuparsi di due dei possibili esiti dell'interazione delle tre sfere considerate: etnicizzazione e statizzazione della religione

(Roseano, 1999, 86 e ss). L'etnicizzazione di una religione è quel processo che porta la religione ad essere coinvolta nei movimenti etnici, a prendere una coloritura nazionale. Per statizzazione della religione, invece, si intende il processo che porta uno stato ad esercitare un controllo su una confessione religiosa e, di conseguenza, ad utilizzarla per dare sostegno alle proprie scelte politiche, anche a quelle in materia di etnicità (se presenti). Tale esito è più probabile quando una confessione è strutturata in forma gerarchica e quando i meccanismi di controllo al suo interno sono efficaci. Altri fattori importanti per chiarire perché la religione viene (o non viene) coinvolta nelle dinamiche etniche sono lo spirito delle confessioni (universale/tribale) e le finalità sociali dei movimenti nazionalisti (conservatori/progressisti).

Per quanto riguarda l'analisi sincronica, è possibile affrontare il nesso tra religione ed eticità in relazione al concetto di identità etnica oggettiva e soggettiva. Parlando di identità etnica in senso oggettivo (C) è comune considerare la religione come uno degli elementi dell'eticità, assieme a lingua, territorio, discendenza ed altri fattori. Ciascuno di tali elementi può combinarsi con gli altri in diversi modi. La differenza di confessione tra due gruppi può essere una delle ragioni (in alcuni casi anche la più rilevante o l'unica) che determinano una differenza etnica tra due gruppi. Se tali gruppi, invece, condividono la stessa confessione, non è possibile prevedere a priori come la religione influirà sulle relazioni tra i gruppi: potrebbe ostacolare la differenziazione etnica o dimostrarsi ininfluente.

Un altro tipo (D) di analisi sincronica del nesso tra eticità e religione è quella condotta dal punto di vista psicologico. A tale proposito possiamo isolare due aspetti:

a) Il primo aspetto è quello funzionale. Secondo alcuni autori religione ed eticità possono servire come criteri alternativi per definire l'identità di un gruppo, oppure come fondamenta morali dell'ordine sociale, oppure ancora come sistemi complementari/alternativi per superare la paura della morte.

b) Il secondo aspetto psicologico importante del nesso tra religione ed eticità risiede nei miti (Smith, 1986). Un mito, a differenza del significato che il termine ha nel linguaggio quotidiano, viene inteso qui come una "narrazione letteraria di fatti storici, un simbolo che ha la forza di mobilitare o legittimare". I miti possono essere catalogati in più categorie: esistono miti di origine nel tempo di un popolo, miti dell'età dell'oro, miti di liberazione, di elezione, di missione, di decadenza. Tutti questi tipi di miti sono collegati alla religione in almeno tre modi:

i) i miti – almeno anticamente – erano letteralmente parte della religione,

ii) anche in tempi più vicini a noi i miti hanno spesso contenuto religioso,

iii) il linguaggio della religione e quello dei miti etnici sono molto simili (per esempio esistono coincidenze significative nel senso che le retoriche nazionaliste ed il discorso religioso attingono al bagaglio lessicale delle sacre scritture ed all'area semantica dell'ecclesiologia e della parentela).

I miti, esprimendo in forma simbolica la consapevolezza etnica, sono una componente non marginale dell'etnicità. Essi, oltre ad essere di tipi diversi dal punto di vista del contenuto, possono essere anche ordinati gerarchicamente: al vertice della piramide gerarchica dei miti si trova il mitomotore, cioè il mito centrale, su cui si fondano e legittimano gli altri miti.

RELIGIONE ED ETNICITÀ IN FRIULI

Lo scopo principale di questo articolo è quello di illustrare alcune delle caratteristiche di quella parte del movimento etnico friulano del XX secolo più vicina agli ambienti religiosi.

Per analizzare il rapporto tra storia ed eticità nel caso friulano procederò prima a proporre un'interpretazione delle dinamiche del gruppo stesso. Sulla scorta di tale proposta di ricostruzione storica proseguirò con un'analisi sincronica del ruolo dell'elemento religioso.

La storia etnoreligiosa dei friulani

In Friuli un legame tra religione e friulanità emerge per la prima volta in modo chiaro nel XVII secolo. A partire dagli anni successivi al Concilio di Trento il clero friulano, in conformità alle disposizioni del Concilio stesso e delle Costituzioni sinodali del Patriarcato di Aquileia, utilizza la lingua friulana per finalità religiose, soprattutto nell'omiletica e nella catechesi (Peri, 1986, 35-71; Strassoldo, Cattarinussi, 1978, 97; De Biasio, 1973). Negli stessi decenni un consistente numero di religiosi è impegnato nella produzione di opere letterarie in friulano.

Tale situazione muta radicalmente nel XX secolo. Nei primi anni del '900 la chiesa cattolica italiana si è statizzata, cioè è divenuta in un certo senso collaterale allo stato italiano. Dallo stato la chiesa cattolica in Friuli mutuò l'atteggiamento in materia di etnicità; così le Arcidiocesi di Gorizia e di Udine giunsero alla proibizione, nelle sfere di loro competenza, dell'uso delle *linguae vernaculae* diverse dall'italiano, *in primis* lo sloveno e poi il friulano. L'arcivescovo di Udine Rossi fu il primo ad agire in tal senso, mentre il metropolita di Gorizia, lo sloveno Sedej, si oppose fino al 1932, quando fu allontanato dalla cattedra (Peri, 1986, 60; Maghet, 1987, 259-282; Marchet, Placerean, 1977, 75). Tale proibizione dell'uso del friulano ha segnato una cesura profonda nella coscienza del clero friulano, tant'è che quando, negli anni '60, si iniziò ad utilizzare

Foto 1: Cattedra patriarcale a Cividale.

Sl. 1: Patriarhalni prestol v Čedadu.

nuovamente il friulano in alcune chiese, una parte consistente del clero udinese vi si oppose, segno evidente della persa o rimossa memoria della prassi pastorale di 50 anni prima.

Religione e mobilitazione etnica

Anche il friulanismo, come gli altri etnonazionalismi, ha iniziato a muoversi nel campo della cultura e, più specificamente, in quello della lingua. In realtà la scoperta della lingua friulana è avvenuta in due fasi: la prima iniziò nel Friuli goriziano nel XIX secolo e si esaurì con la rapida crescita nella stessa area dell'irredentismo italiano (Peri, 1986, 35-71; Strassoldo, Cattarinussi, 1978, 95), la seconda cominciò nel Friuli centrale dopo il secondo conflitto mondiale. Dal punto di vista della storia delle ideologie politiche, il secondo dopoguerra in Italia è caratterizzato dalla fine dell'ideologia di stato. A livello regionale, nella zona del confine Nord-orientale d'Italia, ciò si traduce anche nella crisi del nazionalismo di frontiera che, nei decenni precedenti, aveva interpretato la friulanità come "latinità o italianità di frontiera", in funzione antislava ed antitedesca.

Ciò permise la trasformazione del friulanismo e la sua ormai definitiva emancipazione dall'ombrello del nazionalismo italiano.

A partire dalla fine degli anni '40 erano attive in Friuli tre importanti istituzioni che si occupavano di friulanità: la Società Filologia Friulana, il periodico Patrie dal Friûl e l'associazione Scuele Libare Furlane.

Scuele Libare Furlane è il gruppo più interessante ai fini dell'analisi delle relazioni tra religione ed etnicità. Scuele Libare Furlane nacque tra il 1952 e il 1954 (Ulliana, 1982) per iniziativa di alcuni seminaristi e

maestri. Il loro scopo era quello di stimolare i friulani a continuare a parlare la propria lingua, la cui sopravvivenza era vista messa in crisi dall'italiano. Scuele Libare Furlane chiedeva essenzialmente riconoscimenti a livello linguistico e culturale, pertanto in quella fase il movimento non può essere definito compiutamente etnico o nazionale, bensì meramente culturale. In Scuele Libare Furlane convivevano due anime: una più conservatrice – ben rappresentata da mons. Luigi Pividori – che aveva nostalgia di un popolo friulano obbediente e clericale e 2) una più critica e progressista.

Volendo inquadrare il movimento di Scuele Libare Furlane nello schema teorico abbozzato inizialmente, possiamo dire che:

- il clero ha avuto il ruolo di promotore e "ideologo" delle iniziative di Scuele Libare Furlane,

- i religiosi attivi all'interno di Scuele Libare Furlane appartenevano al basso clero,

- le idee di tali religiosi erano in parte etichettabili come "conservatrici" ed in parte come "progressiste",

- per la diffusione di tali idee e per la realizzazione delle iniziative dell'associazione venivano utilizzati i canali di comunicazione o le strutture religiose già esistenti (ad esempio l'organizzazione di corsi di friulano nelle canoniche).

Tali caratteristiche ricorrono in forme analoghe in numerosi movimenti etnici europei.

Un altro punto di riferimento del friulanismo di quegli anni era il periodico *Patrie dal Friül* di Felix Marchi e don Giuseppe Marchetti. Don Giuseppe Marchetti è un tipico esempio di "prete-intellettuale che scopre la cultura di un popolo". Figure come la sua non sono statisticamente rare, soprattutto in Europa Orientale.

Per una serie di motivi, nel 1962 un gruppo di sacerdoti si staccò da Scuele Libare Furlane – considerata forse troppo moderata – per costituire una nuova associazione: Int Furlane. Con Int Furlane le istanze crebbero quantitativamente e si trasformarono qualitativamente. Si iniziò a criticare l'amministrazione italiana, a parlare dei friulani come di un popolo, a lamentarsi per la situazione di sottosviluppo del Friuli. In questo modo il clero si era fatto protagonista del momento di passaggio che è tipico dei movimenti etnici e che consiste nella trasformazione delle istanze da culturali a schiettamente etniche e politiche. Int Furlane produsse molti degli argomenti che avrebbero dominato il dibattito politico friulano fino al giorno d'oggi. Tra questi troviamo l'idea di una colonizzazione subita dal Friuli e la critica agli etnostereotipi più diffusi circa i friulani.

Nel 1966, a seguito di una serie di eventi che avevano scontentato l'opinione pubblica friulana (lotte per l'Università del Friuli, per la Regione...) che avevano mostrato la scarsa capacità dei partiti tradizionali di recepire alcune istanze della popolazione, nacque il Movimento Friuli. Tra i fondatori si trovavano alcuni

sacerdoti che avevano collaborato con Int Furlane. Nei primi anni di vita della nuova formazione politica una parte del clero udinese contribuì non solo a far circolare le idee del MF, ma anche a definirne il repertorio ideologico. Altrimenti detto, una parte del clero friulano ha avuto quella funzione mitopoietica che è caratteristica della prima fase di qualunque movimento etnico e che solitamente è svolta dagli intellettuali nazionali. Di seguito vedremo quali sono stati i risultati di tale mitopoiesi.

Negli anni Sessanta si verificò un altro evento di particolare rilievo all'interno del friulanismo: la cosiddetta Mozione del Clero del 1967. La *querelle* sollevata dalla Mozione (Ulliana, 1982, 99-128; Beline, 1997, 131-139; Pinčan, 1994, 84; Ellero, 1969) può essere esemplificativa di tre tendenze che sembrano essere comuni a molti movimenti etnonazionalisti:

- esiste una differenza d'atteggiamento tra alto e basso clero verso i problemi etnici, soprattutto se essi rientrano all'interno di una dinamica dominanza-minoranza,

- la statizzazione è più semplice se una confessione religiosa è organizzata in modo gerarchico se lo stato è confessionale o controllato da un partito confessionale,

- gli appartenenti ad una minoranza si possono trovare in una situazione di conflitto tra due lealtà.

Con gli anni Settanta inizia una nuova fase del friulanismo, le cui linee di sviluppo sono: la conversione dai partiti tradizionali alle istanze del Movimento Friuli, il Concilio Vaticano II con i suoi riflessi a livello locale (Assemblea del Clero, Udine 1975), l'indebolimento del legame tra curia udinese e Democrazia Cristiana (destatizzazione), la nascita di un friulanismo laico forte, la perdita di visibilità del clero friulanista, il terremoto del 1976 e l'arrivo ad Udine dell'arcivescovo Battisti.

In breve, negli anni Settanta il nesso tra religione e friulanismo è cambiato nel senso che:

- il clero si è ritirato dall'arena politica. Questa tendenza è osservabile in molti movimenti etnonazionalisti: dopo una prima fase in cui il clero ha un ruolo preponderante, nasce una corrente laica del nazionalismo che diviene maggioritaria. Davanti a ciò il clero può ritirarsi parzialmente o completamente, può entrare in concorrenza con il nazionalismo laico (come è avvenuto, ad esempio, nella Grecia dell'Ottocento), oppure può divenire diffusore delle idee del nuovo nazionalismo (senza però contribuire a definirle).

- Il distacco del clero di Int Furlane dal Movimento Friuli e la fondazione di un gruppo di carattere più marcatamente pastorale ed ecclesiale come Glesie Furlane sono in linea con tale tendenza.

- L'"alto clero" dopo un'iniziale fase di diffidenza ed ostilità, ha recepito le istanze etniche friulane. Tale ricezione è iniziata con l'Assemblea del Clero del 1975. E' stato un processo lento e progressivo, iniziato con

una fase di "non proibisco e non permetto" e culminato con i recenti sviluppi, che hanno visto l'Arcidiocesi di Udine in prima fila nell'azione di *lobbying* in occasione dell'approvazione della legge 482/99. La friulanizzazione dell'alto clero è stata parallela e, in un certo senso direttamente proporzionale alla destatizzazione della chiesa udinese. Ciò sembra confermare la diversa funzione dell'alto e basso clero nelle dinamiche etniche (soprattutto in quelle delle minoranze).

Glesie Furlane, dunque, è un gruppo che ben rappresenta la fase matura dell'impegno etnonazionalista del clero. Dal punto di vista teorico l'esperienza di Glesie Furlane è interessante proprio in quanto è paradigmatica. In particolare Glesie Furlane ha proposto una sintesi di valori universali e locali – una forma religiosa di glocalismo – sintetizzabile in tre idee ecclesiologiche:

1) la Chiesa è fatta dalla gente.

2) La gerarchia ecclesiastica ha il dovere morale di stare dalla parte degli ultimi, dei meno fortunati, e deve aiutarli a trovare una salvezza non solo ultramondana (si noti che le minoranze vengono espressamente descritte come "poveri in senso evangelico").

3) La Chiesa universale è composta dalle chiese locali, che ne sono la "incarnazione". La diversità di carismi tra chiese e tra popoli rientra nel disegno divino e quindi va rispettata.

Dal punto di vista culturale Glesie Furlane è conosciuta per le sue attività, come la traduzione della Bibbia, del Lezionario e del Messale in friulano.

Prima di passare a parlare dei miti del friulanismo e della loro relazione con la religione, cerchiamo di sintetizzare quanto finora detto. Religione e friulanità sono connesse in quanto:

1) i friulani sono in maggioranza cristiani, *ça va sans dire*.

2) Gli appartenenti al clero sono stati protagonisti della prima fase del friulanismo, nella quale hanno svolto la funzione di ideologi, di "intellettuali nazionali", di mitopoietici.

3) La maggior parte dei miti del friulanismo ha a che vedere con la religione, che è quanto ci proponiamo di investigare ora.

I miti del friulanismo

Nel caso dei gruppi minoritari i miti sono particolarmente complessi in quanto esistono i miti della minoranza e quelli della dominanza. Solitamente i miti di tali gruppi sono tra loro concorrenti.

Parlando dei miti del friulanismo – o dell'identità friulana – cercherò di gettare luce su due punti:

1) in che modo tali miti sono legati alla religione.

2) In che modo i miti del friulanismo entrano in concorrenza con quelli del nazionalismo italiano per conquistare la lealtà dei friulani.

Per chiarezza analitica converrà descrivere ed analizzare singolarmente i vari miti del friulanismo.

A. Il *common descent*. Ogni buon storico friulano apre la sua opera con "*in principio erant Celtae*", in principio erano i Celti. I Celti sono considerati dai friulanisti gli antenati mitici dei friulani, come i primi occupanti legittimi del territorio friulano (Strassoldo, Cattarinussi 1978, 27; Salvi, 1973, 346; Pohl, 1993, 111). Naturalmente per il nazionalismo italiano i primi occupanti legittimi del territorio friulano sono stati i Romani, mentre i Celti erano barbari invasori (Salvi, 1997, 49-51). D'altra parte i Romani stessi assumono nell'immaginario friulanista le vesti dei colonizzatori non chiamati ed indesiderati. Le radici celtiche dei friulani sono state sostenute anche da don Giuseppe Marchetti e da mons. Gian Carlo Menis, due intellettuali in abito talare, il secondo autore della "Storia del Friuli" probabilmente più letta. Ai Celti Karni vengono fatte risalire non solo le principali peculiarità linguistiche del friulano, ma anche la fondazione di Aquileia – città che rappresenta un punto di riferimento fisso del friulanismo – ed il primo nome della regione, l'affinità con i popoli slavi e germanici contermini (Marchet, Placerean, 1977, 9; Strassoldo, Cattarinussi, 1978, 27) e molti aspetti della cultura popolare friulana (Leicht, 1907; Matičetov, 1951-1952).

B. Il mito di Aquileia, romana e cristiana.

Nonostante la storia di Aquileia fosse nota e studiata da tempo, la sua valorizzazione in chiave mitologica è stata operata soprattutto da intellettuali-sacerdoti. La mitizzazione dei fatti relativi alla città romana di Aquileia ed alla chiesa aquileiese delle origini si fonda su un'equazione che attualizza la storia, le conferisce un potere di mobilitazione e legittimazione, bref la trasforma in mito: parlando di Aquileia e Roma, soprattutto della rivalità tra le due chiese, si parla metaforicamente di friulani ed italiani. Così l'esaltare l'autonomia culturale e istituzionale della Aquileia cristiana rispetto a Roma è un modo per esaltare l'autonomia dei friulani del XX secolo. In quest'ottica viene mitizzato Fortunazinano – autore di un commentario al Vangelo in *sermone rustico* – (Marchetti, 1952, 15; Paschini, 1976, 85-114; Maniaco, 1996, 18), viene esaltata l'attività missionaria della chiesa aquileiese letta come segno di tolleranza e multiculturalità (che sarebbero le caratteristiche del Friuli attuale) (Menis, 1988, 17-24; Qualizza, 1988, 43-52), si parla nuovamente del mito della fondazione marciana¹ della chiesa di Aquileia e dello Scisma dei Tre Capitoli per rimarcare l'autonomia da Roma (Bole papâl, 1976, 5; Marchet, Placerean, 1977, 28-29; Placereani, 1978, 129-132). (Aprendo una parentesi, si noti che comincia a diventare chiaro come in Roma venga costantemente e coerentemente individuato il nemico storico del Friuli: I Romani erano nemici dei Celti, la Chiesa di Roma era nemica di quella di Aquileia, i papi erano nemici dei

patriarchi. Il tutto in un *climax* che culmina nella presunta avversità latente dello stato italiano per i friulani). In generale si può dire che l'etnicizzazione del cattolicesimo in Friuli ha tentato di prendere la forma della "aquileiesizzazione".

C. Il mito della "razza". Contrariamente a quanto accade alla maggior parte degli etnonazionalismi europei, il friulanismo, pur riconoscendo un certo primato ai Celti tra gli antenati mitici del popolo friulano, esalta la pluralità di ascendenze. La selettività della mitologia friulanista in quanto caso consiste nel menzionare solo gli antenati nordici (Celti, Longobardi, Sloveni), a detrimento delle altre componenti (Maniaco, 1995, 70; Strassoldo 1996, 140-141).

D. Il mito dell'origine della lingua. Il mito dell'origine della lingua è legato alla religione in tre modi: innanzitutto l'origine celtica delle peculiarità linguistiche del friulano è stata sostenuta in epoca contemporanea da un sacerdote (Marchetti, ma nell'Ottocento già dall'abate Pirona, autore del primo vocabolario friulano), in secondo luogo si sostiene che il friulano deriva dal latino aquileiese (la lingua del vescovo Fortunaziano), il quale si è sviluppato in forma originale perché il teocratico Patriarcato d'Aquileia nel Medio Evo era isolato dal resto della pianura padana (Frau, 1988, 28-34; Strassoldo, Cattarinussi, 1978, 28 ss.).

E. Il Patriarcato, mitomotore del friulanismo. Il Patriarcato viene inteso in due modi: come chiesa aquileiese paleocristiana e come principato ecclesiastico medievale. Il Patriarcato è stato riscoperto come argomento "politico" (Placerean, 1978, 129-132; Pohl, 1993) da don Francesco Placereani – uno dei fondatori del Movimento Friuli, oratore molto popolare negli anni '70 – il quale a quei tempi era l'unico ad avere al tempo stesso le conoscenze storiche necessarie e la consapevolezza espressa – il che è raro ed interessante – che il friulanismo per sfondare avesse bisogno di dotarsi di un apparato mitologico. Nel pensiero di don Placereani il Patriarcato viene a configurarsi come il mitomotore, cioè il mito centrale attorno al quale gravitano gli altri e dal quale vengono legittimati. Ad esempio il "mito dello stato" per il friulanismo prende la forma dell'esaltazione del periodo tra il 1077 ed il 1420, che corrispondono alla massima autonomia del principato ecclesiastico all'interno del Sacro Romano Impero. Questa è anche la "età dell'oro", che corrisponde anche, come spesso avviene, con la "età degli eroi". La figura storica che viene riscoperta, mitizzata e presentata come eroe nazionale – cioè riproposta anche come modello di comportamento, in questo caso per la classe politica – è

quella del patriarca aquileiese Bertrando di San Genesio (Placerean, 1989; Beline, 1997, 113). Bertrando viene anche citato nell'edizione degli anni '70 del Messale in friulano, redatta da don Placereani, nel quale il personaggio storico, che per la chiesa cattolica porta il titolo di Beato, viene innalzato al rango di Santo. Tale processo di santificazione degli eroi nazionali è tutt'altro che infrequente in Europa (si pensi a Giovanna d'Arco, re Stefano d'Ungheria, Nicola Romanov e molti altri santi delle varie chiese autocefale dell'Europa orientale). Anche la fine del Patriarcato (sia quella del principato ecclesiastico avvenuta nel 1420,² sia quella dell'istituzione religiosa soppressa nel 1751) viene mitizzata ed interpretata come un'anticipazione della "invasione" del 1866. Il Patriarcato è anche legato alla questione dei confini del Friuli, nel senso che il "Friuli storico" di cui molto è stato scritto negli ultimi due anni includerebbe i territori che facevano parte del principato ecclesiastico di Aquileia o delle diocesi di Aquileia e Concordia. Nel Friuli orientale, appartenuto dal 1500 al 1919 agli Asburgo, il mito-motore

**Foto 2: Ritratto ideale del patriarca Bertrando.
Sl. 2: Ideali portret patriarha Bertranda.**

1 Mito un tempo considerato come nato in funzione antiromana, di recente inserito nel Lezionario friulano nella sequenza "Adest dies celeberrima", con *nil obstat* della Conferenza Episcopale Italiana e della Congregazione per il Culto Divino e per la Disciplina dei Sacramenti.

patriarcale non trova una diffusione paragonabile a quella che ha nel Friuli centrale. Tra le varie cause di questa minore popolarità – tra i friulanisti stessi – a noi interessa mettere in evidenza il fatto che le vicende del patriarcato sono troppo legate alla città di Udine, nella quale spesso viene visto un nemico: il patriarca per il conte di Gorizia suo vassallo e Venezia per gli Asburgo. Come abbiamo già detto, anche l'origine mitica della lingua è legata al patriarcato. Non si dimentichi infine, che a livello iconografico, il simbolo più conosciuto del Friuli è l'aquila patriarcale, della quale l'esemplare più antico è stato ritrovato, questa volta è davvero un caso, nel sarcofago del Patriarca Bertrando.

Il mitomotore coloniale. Accanto al mitomotore patriarcale esiste anche un altro *cluster* di miti che sono tutti interpretabili come riletture in senso coloniale della storia del Friuli. Tale complesso di miti è presente anche all'interno del sistema mitico patriarcale, ma con il passare degli anni ha conosciuto una diffusione ed una popolarità maggiori. I miti della colonizzazione si presentano oggi come indipendenti dal mitomotore patriarcale e sono propri del friulanismo laico, del quale non ci si occupa nel presente articolo. La storia del Friuli viene vista in chiave coloniale: tentativi di colonizzazione vengono considerati l'arrivo dei Romani nel II secolo a.C., la conquista veneziana del 1420, la soppressione del Patriarcato nel 1751, l'annessione italiana del 1866 (Marchet, Placerean, 1977, 69), l'unione del Friuli con Trieste nella Regione amministrativa Friuli

– Venezia Giulia. Anche il sottosviluppo economico del Friuli nei primi tre quarti del XX secolo (con la conseguente emigrazione, arrivo di insegnanti da altre regioni...), viene visto come un tentativo da parte dell'amministrazione italiana di mantenere volutamente il Friuli in uno stato di inferiorità. E' interessante notare come per il friulanismo i nemici vengano sempre da Sud o Ovest (Roma, Venezia, Trieste), mentre per il nazionalismo italiano essi provengono da Est o Nord (Celti, Longobardi, Sloveni, Tedeschi, Austriaci) (Strassoldo, 1996, 23; Maniacco, 1995, 76-77).

F. Gli altri: confini e polietnismo. Punti di contrasto tra nazionalismo italiano e friulanismo sono la questione dei confini e la questione dei rapporti tra friulani e popoli contermini. I confini – sempre "sacri" – sono un punto di forza di qualunque retorica nazionalista. Per il nazionalismo italiano il confine tra Friuli e Austria ed il confine tra Friuli e Slovenia si configura(va)no come "confini-barriera": il Friuli veniva descritto come la "*sentinella d'Italia*" (Ellero, Carozzo, 1967, 9; Pellegrini, 1963, 14-21). Per il friulanismo, invece, tali confini sono sempre stati delle "cerniere" (Strassoldo, Cattarinussi, 1978, 28), mentre la vera barriera storica, culturale, spirituale era quella con il Veneto e, dunque con l'Italia. Analogamente, i friulani vengono/venivano ritratti dal nazionalismo italiano come un baluardo della latinità contro la barbarie tedesca e slava. Per i friulanisti, invece, il friulano è storicamente e culturalmente più vicino agli sloveni ed ai tedeschi che agli italiani. Tale vicinanza viene spesso spiegata facendo riferimento all'attività missionaria della chiesa aquileiese antica che avrebbe così gettato le basi per una comunanza di fondo.

G. Etnotipo psicologico. Un altro campo di competizione tra il nazionalismo italiano ed il friulanismo è la definizione del "carattere" dei friulani. Secondo l'interpretazione del nazionalismo italiano e delle sue declinazioni locali, i friulani sarebbero "saldi, onesti, lavoratori". In altre parole affidabili. Tale versione è stata contestata già da Int Furlane che sosteneva che lo stato italiano aveva tutto l'interesse a far credere ai friulani di essere obbedienti per natura, mentre invece non erano altro che "*sotàns*" (cioè "servi" o "servili") (Ulliana, 1982, 42). Nel corso dei decenni sono emerse altre definizioni configgenti dell'etnotipo psicologico dei friulani. Alcune di queste tendevano a presentarlo come "tradizionale ma ribelle" (Strassoldo, 1996, 141; Cavallo et al., 1980, 32).

Foto 3: Vessillo patriarcale aquileiese, con l'aquila del Friuli, rinvenuto nel sarcofago del patriarca Bertrando.
Sl. 3: Prapor oglejskega patriarha s Furlanskim orlom, najden v sarkofagu patriarha Bertranda.

2 Sull'azione colonizzatrice della Serenissima i riferimenti bibliografici sono abbondanti, pertanto ne citeremo solo alcuni: Strassoldo (1996, 23, 141); Cavallo, Cescje, Begot (1980, 33); Anonimo Friulano (1971); Beline (1975a, 19-53); Beline (1992a, 69-71); Bole papâl (1976); Ellero, Carozzo (1967, 9, 55); Glesie Furlane (1975); Glesie Furlane (1976, 29-30); Maniacco (1995); Maniacco (1996); Marchet, Placerean (1977, 50-57); Pičul (1974); Placerean (1989); Placerean (1978, 129-132); Salvi (1973); Salvi (1975). In particolare è interessante mettere in rilievo come da parte friulanista si attribuisse – oggi le cose sembrano essere cambiate – anche alla Serenissima la responsabilità della soppressione del patriarcato [ad esempio in Bole papâl, 1976; Friül e furlanetât (1979, 35); Beline (1997, 283)], mentre da altre la si imputasse solo in capo all'imperatrice Maria Teresa [ad esempio in: De Biasio (1988, 97-107)].

PATRIARHI IN DUHOVNICI: RELIGIOZNI ELEMENT V FURLANSKI ETNIČNI IDENTITETI

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POVZETEK

Članek je razmišljanje o povezavi med religijo in etnično identiteto, pri tem pa je posebej izpostavljen primer Furlanije v drugi polovici 20. stoletja. Iz analize tiskanih del iz obdobja po drugi svetovni vojni, ki jih lahko uvrstimo v smer furlanizma, ki je bliže religioznim ambientom, ugotovimo, da je etnična mitopoeza takšne skupine v veliki meri osnovana na patriarhalnem mitomotorju. Oglejski patriarhat namreč nastopa kot osrednji element številnih mitov. V primeru tovrstnega furlanizma, privzame na primer, "mit države" obliko poveljevanja obdobja med leti 1077 in 1420, ki sovpada z največjo avtonomijo cerkvene oglejske oblasti znotraj svetega rimskega cesarstva. To je tudi "zlata doba", ki, tako kot se pogosto dogaja, sovpada z "dobo junakov". Zgodovinski lik, ki je na novo odkrit, mitiziran in predstavljen kot nacionalni junak, kar pomeni, da je postavljen tudi kot model obnašanja - v tem primeru za politični razred, je lik patriarha Bertranda iz San Genesia. Tudi konec cerkvenega patriarhata (tako cerkvene oblasti leta 1420, kakor tudi cerkvene ustanove, ukinjene leta 1751), je mitiziran in interpretiran kot napoved "invazije" leta 1866. Patriarhat je povezan tudi z vprašanjem meja v Furlaniji, in sicer v smislu, da v "historično Furlanijo", o kateri je bilo veliko napisanega v zadnjih dveh letih, sodijo tudi ozemlja, ki so bila del cerkvene oblasti Ogleja, ali škofij Ogleja in Concordie. Tudi izvor jezika je povezan s patriarhatom, in sicer v smislu, da naj bi politična izolacija, v kateri je glede na padsko območje živela cerkvena oblast, vzpodbudila razvoj pozne latinščine, ki je bila bistveno drugačna od tiste, iz katere so se razvili severni italijanski jeziki. V primeru religioznega furlanizma si lahko večjo kulturno navezanost Furlanov s Slovenci in z Nemci, kot pa z Italijani, razložimo z misijonarsko dejavnostjo oglejske cerkve, ki je tako ustvarila osnovo nekega temeljnega občestva.

Poleg mitov, ki so neposredno povezani s patriarhalnim mitomotorjem, se v religioznem furlanizmu pojavljajo tudi miti, ki si jih deli z laičnimi smermi istega gibanja. Med temi, mit o common descent poudarja nordijski izvor Furlanov (še posebej keltski) pred latinskim, ki ga poveljuje italijanski obmejni nacionalizem.

Ključne besede: furlanska identiteta, religija, miti, Furlanija, 20. stoletje

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LE METAMORFOSI ETNICHE DI TRIESTE NEL PERIODO 1914-1919

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SINTESI

Lo studio si occupa dei movimenti migratori che si verificarono nella Venezia Giulia dal 1914 al 1919 e della funzione che questi movimenti ebbero nell'omogeneizzazione etnica del territorio. Il fenomeno è stato piuttosto trascurato dalla storiografia italiana; da parte slovena e croata, invece, l'attenzione è stata piuttosto concentrata sull'italianizzazione avvenuta durante il fascismo. Attraverso un'analisi comparata della letteratura italiana, slovena e croata, delle opere più recenti, di alcuni materiali d'archivio e di fonti statistiche, questo articolo tenta di tracciare una panoramica degli avvenimenti e dei provvedimenti più importanti che portarono alla metamorfosi etnica della Venezia Giulia durante e dopo la prima guerra mondiale. Emerge il fatto che, seppur in modo ancora embrionale, la pianificazione della "bonifica etnica" in senso italiano della Venezia Giulia iniziò ben prima del fascismo, anzi, nei giorni stessi in cui l'Italia prese possesso dei nuovi territori.

Parole chiave: movimenti migratori, emigrazione, immigrazione, Trieste, Venezia Giulia, prima guerra mondiale, 1919

ETHNIC METAMORPHOSIS OF TRIESTE FROM 1914 TO 1919

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the migratory flows that happened in the Venezia Giulia region from 1914 to 1919 and it deals also with the function these flows had in the ethnic homogenisation of the territory. This phenomenon has been rather neglected by the Italian historiography, whereas the attention of Slovenian and Croatian studies has concentrated on the Italianization carried over during the Fascism. By a comparative analysis of the most recent literary works, of archive material and of statistical data of the Italian, Slovenian and Croatian literature, this article attempts to trace an overview of the most important events and measures that brought to the ethnic metamorphosis of the Venezia Giulia region during and after the First World War. It appears that, even if at an early stage, the planning of the "ethnic clearance" of the Venezia Giulia region started long before the Fascism, or rather the very moment Italy took possession of the new territories.

Key words: migrations, emigration, immigration, Trieste, Venezia Giulia, First World War, 1919

INTRODUZIONE

Lo studio si occupa dei movimenti migratori che si verificarono nella Venezia Giulia e Trieste dal 1914 al 1919 e della funzione che questi movimenti ebbero nell'omogeneizzazione etnica del territorio. Già durante la prima guerra mondiale e nel periodo immediatamente successivo alla fine del conflitto Trieste e il suo territorio subirono una metamorfosi nella propria fisionomia etnico-nazionale e le sue componenti minoritarie risultarono, per diversi motivi, molto ridimensionate. I flussi migratori verso la città e il Litorale mutarono sia per quanto riguarda i luoghi di provenienza, sia per consistenza numerica, sia per intensità.

Si tratta di un fenomeno che, nonostante la sua complessità, per lunghi anni e per diverse ragioni è stato piuttosto trascurato dall'analisi storiografica o è stato piegato alla ragion politica.

Durante il ventennio fascista, da parte degli studiosi italiani fu tenuto un quasi totale silenzio sulla questione, benché proprio in quegli anni venissero attuati i provvedimenti atti ad allontanare i non italiani dalla Venezia Giulia o ad italianizzarli. Un'analisi scientifica dell'emigrazione dei non italiani verso l'estero, del processo di italianizzazione degli sloveni e croati che erano rimasti e della massiccia immigrazione dal resto dell'Italia verso la Venezia Giulia avrebbe dimostrato, infatti, che le "terre redente" erano molto meno italiane di quanto la propaganda irredentista aveva voluto far credere. Fanno eccezione rari articoli di propaganda, in cui, comunque, traspare la contraddizione di un territorio e una città ufficialmente "italianissimi" da cui sono state allontanate o "restituiti all'italianità" decine di migliaia di persone (Il Popolo di Trieste, 1933).

Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, fino a quando l'appartenenza territoriale della zona non venne definita, l'argomento fu affrontato generalmente con scarsa obiettività: dare troppo peso ai movimenti migratori e alla campagna di italianizzazione voluta dal fascismo diventava un possibile boomerang sul piano dell'assegnazione dei territori all'Italia.

Risolta la "questione di Trieste" con la definitiva assegnazione della Zona B alla Jugoslavia, il problema dell'emigrazione di sloveni e croati dopo la prima guerra mondiale fu sempre più frequentemente contrapposto in maniera sterile all'esodo dall'Istria del secondo dopoguerra, in una sorta di "gara", priva di alcun senso scientifico, su quale delle due parti avesse subito maggiori sofferenze.

Da parte slovena e croata, invece, ci si trova di fronte ad una storiografia in cui – specie fino agli anni '50 e '60 – l'attendibilità dei dati è parzialmente dubbia per il peso politico che la questione ebbe sia a livello di denuncia

da parte della diaspora dei "Primorci", sia per la successiva legittimazione morale della Jugoslavia ad occupare i territori della Venezia Giulia. Inoltre tanto la storiografia slovena quanto quella croata hanno privilegiato l'analisi di ciò che accadde durante il periodo fascista, quando la "bonifica etnica" del territorio fu palese, mettendo invece in secondo piano quanto accaduto nel periodo precedente.

Sia nella storiografia italiana, sia in quella slovena e croata un approccio scientifico e meno dettato da interessi di parte è comunque piuttosto recente.

Questo articolo – attraverso un'analisi comparata della letteratura italiana, slovena e croata, lo studio delle opere più recenti, di alcuni materiali d'archivio e di fonti statistiche – tenta di tracciare una panoramica degli avvenimenti che in qualsiasi modo possono essere collegati allo spostamento o alla modifica degli equilibri etnici d'anteguerra.

Sono riportati gli eventi chiave (provvedimenti legislativi, sindromi di fuga, difficoltà di vario genere nel continuare a vivere sul territorio, ecc.) che furono la causa prima o collaterale della migrazione, le migrazioni di natura spontanea o quelle pianificate dalle autorità; le espulsioni velate o palesi, le partenze di intere categorie, l'italianizzazione forzata di fasce di popolazione alloglotta o la loro adesione volontaria a queste campagne. Dove possibile sono segnalate le ipotesi numeriche dei singoli avvenimenti migratori.

LA SITUAZIONE PRIMA DELLA GRANDE GUERRA

Nel 1913 la città di Trieste aveva una popolazione attorno ai 240.000 abitanti. Dal 1860 la crescita demografica non aveva avuto significative flessioni e negli ultimi anni precedenti alla grande guerra l'incremento demografico si era stabilizzato su una costante di crescita di circa 10.000 persone ogni due anni. L'ultimo censimento prima del conflitto mondiale, tenuto nel 1910 aveva registrato la presenza nel territorio del Comune di 226.412 persone, esclusi i militari del presidio che alla stessa data ammontavano a 3.052 unità, e gli equipaggi delle navi ormeggiate, che al 31 dicembre 1910, data del censimento, erano 1.240.

Nell'anno successivo, sulla base dei rilievi anagrafici, il numero di abitanti di Trieste era già salito a 232.822 persone, considerando come base i dati forniti dal censimento meno i morti e gli emigrati, più i nuovi nati e gli immigrati.

Con lo stesso criterio di calcolo, secondo i dati dell'anagrafe nel 1912 e nel 1913 la popolazione risultava rispettivamente di 236.896 e di 242.074 unità, confermando la costante di aumento di 10.000 unità al biennio (Comune di Trieste, 1955).¹

1 Dati leggermente diversi, ma che nella sostanza confermano questo tipo di andamento demografico sono riportati da Pierpaolo Luzatto-Fegiz. Il grande statistico afferma che il numero di abitanti di Trieste era di 233.016 nel 1911, 239.912 nel 1912, 247.099 nel

Le componenti di questa popolazione erano, etnicamente parlando, piuttosto variegate: italiani di cittadinanza austriaca, italiani cittadini del Regno d'Italia (i cosiddetti "regnicoli"), sloveni autoctoni, sloveni immigrati dalla Carniola, popolazione di lingua tedesca, di lingua croata, una forte comunità ebraica, piccoli ma vivaci nuclei greci, serbi, armeni, svizzeri, albanesi, boemi, polacchi, turchi.

Con il censimento del 1910 venne posta la domanda dell'appartenenza nazionale della popolazione: tuttavia la questione della nazionalità risultò piuttosto ambigua fin dall'inizio. Al Congresso Internazionale di Statistica tenutosi a Pietroburgo nel 1876, infatti, si era stabilito di adottare nei censimenti il quesito della "lingua d'uso". Ma la lingua d'uso poteva essere interpretata tanto come lingua d'uso nelle relazioni interpersonali e lavorative quanto come lingua d'uso in famiglia: due sistemi diversi, adottati indifferentemente come base di rilevazione, che producevano un risultato complessivo disomogeneo.

A Trieste, si affermò, il quesito della lingua d'uso poteva essere manipolato in modo da avvantaggiare un'etnia anziché un'altra. Da parte italiana si ritenne che – in situazioni dove i censiti risultavano conoscere più lingue – le rilevazioni avessero svantaggiato la componente italiana, in maniera da farla apparire più esigua e sopravvalutare invece le altre (in particolare quella slovena) nel tentativo di ridimensionare le tesi irredentistiche sull'italianità della città.

Il censimento del 1910, rilevato da ufficiali comunali, e dunque italiani, diede come risultato 170.000 abitanti che dichiararono come propria lingua d'uso quella italiana e 38.000 "slava" (slovena o croata), numeri ritenuti troppo bassi dalle organizzazioni slovene e decisamente scomodi per le autorità asburgiche. Il circolo politico sloveno "Edinost" nella figura del suo presidente Josip Vilfan protestò, affermando che erano stati modificati i dati del personale dipendente da datori di lavoro italiani e delle domestiche slovene che prestavano servizio presso famiglie italiane. Secondo il magistrato preposto al censimento queste persone dunque avevano come lingua d'uso quella italiana. Il governo austriaco promosse allora una revisione dei dati del censimento, basandosi pure sul luogo di nascita, sul cognome e addirittura convocando i censiti. In seguito a queste correzioni i dati ufficiali del censimento riportarono, su tutto il territorio comunale, la presenza di 148.398 abitanti di lingua italiana, 56.916 di lingua slovena, 2.403 quelli di lingua serbo-croata e 11.856 di lingua tedesca. Secondo lo storico italiano Carlo Schiffrer (che, però, non conosceva la lingua slovena, e dunque non ebbe mai acces-

so alla storiografia slovena) la revisione del censimento, invece, fu voluta dal luogotenente Hohenlohe, sostenitore delle tesi trialistiche di Francesco Ferdinando.

Dal censimento risultò anche che degli italiani residenti a Trieste circa 30.000 erano cittadini italiani "regnicoli", dunque non "autoctoni". Il 58% degli abitanti di Trieste era nato altrove (Schiffrer, 1991, 21, 42-45; Novak, Zwitter, 1945, 123-127, 141-152; Vilfan, 1980, 178-180; Pirjevec, 1994, 225; Pelikan, 1997, 21).

LA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

L'espulsione dei regnicoli

Lo scoppio della prima guerra mondiale portò ad un arresto del vertiginoso trend demografico positivo di Trieste, tanto che nel 1914 la popolazione aumentò solo di un migliaio di unità (243.415 presenze stimate). Nel 1915, invece, si verificò un crollo verticale: il numero di residenti a Trieste scese a 157.294 (cifra basata sul rilievo della Commissione centrale del pane; Luzzatto-Fegiz stima invece la popolazione in quell'anno in 180.000 unità). I motivi di questo impressionante calo furono molteplici e le diverse componenti della popolazione seguirono strade e destini diversi. Gran parte dei regnicoli residenti a Trieste venne rimpatriata o internata. Già al momento dello scoppio della guerra tra Austria e Serbia alcuni di essi, paventando i disagi della permanenza in un paese in guerra, decisero di ritornare in Italia, allora neutrale. Pur tuttavia, continuò il normale afflusso di abitanti del Regno verso Trieste anche nel 1914 e nei primi mesi del 1915: gli arrivi in tutta l'Austria-Ungheria di persone provenienti dall'Italia furono rispettivamente 32.161 e 2.443.

Nel marzo e nell'aprile del 1915, quando le manifestazioni interventiste in Italia potevano già far scorgere ai più lungimiranti che il Regno sarebbe entrato in guerra contro l'Austria, le partenze dei regnicoli divennero via via più numerose, fino a trasformarsi, in maggio, in un vero e proprio fenomeno di massa. Il 10 maggio dalla sola Fiume giunsero a Udine 800 persone di cittadinanza italiana; il giorno dopo gli arrivi a Udine furono addirittura 2.500. La fuga continuò fino alla vigilia della dichiarazione di guerra, il 23 maggio, quando le autorità austriache bloccarono le linee ferroviarie dirette in Italia.

Al momento dello scoppio delle ostilità tra Italia e Austria, Trieste aveva perso la stragrande maggioranza dei cittadini italiani in essa residenti. Si calcola che quasi 35.000 regnicoli abbiano abbandonato la città (Biondi, 2001, 49-69).

1913. Mi sembra possibile che la divergenza sia spiegabile ammettendo che Luzzatto-Fegiz abbia considerato come popolazione presente anche i militari del presidio e gli equipaggi delle navi, che non appaiono nelle rilevazioni anagrafiche del Comune (Luzzatto-Fegiz, 1929).

I pochi rimasti subirono comunque le misure previste da tutti i paesi in guerra nei confronti di cittadini di paesi nemici: gli uomini in età di leva furono internati, donne, bambini ed anziani mandati al confino o inoltrati nel Regno attraverso la Svizzera. Nella sola Trieste gli internati furono 2.987, i confinati 1.895 e i rimpatriati in Italia 8.974 (9.866 secondo altre fonti). Gli unici regnicoli dei quali fu tollerata la presenza nel Litorale furono le donne austriache di nascita che avevano sposato un regnicolo acquisendo in questo modo la cittadinanza italiana ed i bambini nati da questi matrimoni, purché sotto i dodici anni (Biondi, 2001, 58-60).

E' difficile dire quanto l'espulsione dei regnicoli rispondesse ad un disegno di "pulizia etnica" del territorio voluto dall'Austria per rendere meno preponderante la presenza italiana nel Litorale. Di certo nel corso degli ultimi decenni vi era stato il tentativo di ridimensionare la presenza sia incrementando l'immigrazione di altre componenti etniche, sia cercando di limitare l'afflusso dei regnicoli. L'espulsione o l'internamento dei cittadini di stati nemici presenti sul territorio è tuttavia pratica comune di qualsiasi paese in stato di guerra, dunque è probabile che la misura presa dal governo austriaco rappresentasse contemporaneamente una necessità bellica e un sistema per rendere più "eticamente" leale la zona. Se l'Austria-Ungheria avesse vinto la guerra, è comunque evidente che la componente italiana del Litorale sarebbe venuta ulteriormente a ridimensionarsi a favore della popolazione slava, seguendo quel processo secolare di metamorfosi etnica che già era avvenuto a Ragusa-Dubovnik, Spalato, Sebenico e nel resto della Dalmazia.

I fuoriusciti

Un'altra categoria di persone che abbandonò il Litorale in seguito allo scoppio del conflitto furono i fuoriusciti. Si trattava generalmente di giovani che decidevano di partire per evitare il servizio militare. A questi appartengono le 1.047 persone (di cui 182 caduti in battaglia) che secondo la tradizione storica irredentista passarono il confine per arruolarsi nell'esercito italiano, ma pure quelli – meno noti – che scelsero la fuga come modo di evitare la guerra.

La diserzione dunque non fu, come la storiografia patriottica italiana ha sempre cercato di dimostrare, una scelta esclusiva degli irredentisti. Tra i fuoriusciti, oltre a coloro che semplicemente cercarono una via di salvezza per evitare il fronte, vi furono anche diversi anarchici e socialisti internazionalisti e/o antimilitaristi, il cui rientro, in seguito, fu difficile e contrastato dalle autorità italiane.

Nel campo del fuoriuscitismo irredentista vi fu pure un certo numero di non combattenti, che diedero il proprio contributo allo sforzo bellico italiano nelle associazioni di assistenza ai profughi, negli uffici amministrativi

dei ministeri, nei comitati patriottici e nella propaganda (Cecotti, 2001b, 164-167).

L'esilio dorato dell'alta borghesia

Del tutto particolare nel panorama triestino fu l'emigrazione dei membri delle famiglie dell'alta e media borghesia triestina la cui partenza (o permanenza a Trieste) fu funzionale alla tutela dei propri interessi economici.

Per evitare i disagi e le possibili ripercussioni negative degli eventi bellici, i componenti di questa "aristocrazia" commerciale e imprenditoriale in molti casi scelsero di trasferirsi all'interno dell'Austria o all'estero. La Svizzera rappresentò la meta di un certo numero di maggiorenti triestini, sia per il fatto che la confederazione elvetica, in quanto stato neutrale, permetteva di continuare i propri affari tra i paesi in guerra, sia perché una parte dell'alta borghesia triestina possedeva la doppia cittadinanza. Altri, sempre a motivo della cittadinanza, preferirono la Grecia, neutrale fino al giugno del 1917. Un caso curioso fu quello dei rampolli di alcune famiglie che acquisirono la cittadinanza ottomana per evitare l'arruolamento, in quanto la legge turca esentava i cittadini ottomani non musulmani dal servizio militare. Questa scelta non si rivelò particolarmente fortunata: alla fine della guerra le nuove autorità italiane concessero con molta riluttanza e dopo controlli minuziosi il rientro a Trieste a sudditi di stati che avevano combattuto contro l'Italia.

In alcuni casi i membri delle famiglie con interessi imprenditoriali internazionali emigrarono in più paesi, anche appartenenti ai fronti contrapposti, dove erano presenti le loro filiali. Questa strategia permise di mantenere le proprie attività sia negli stati dell'Intesa che negli imperi centrali e di agire in maniera coordinata, nonostante il conflitto. Non fu raro il caso di componenti della stessa famiglia che passarono il periodo bellico in Austria e in Italia (oltre che nelle proprie sedi distaccate in altri paesi belligeranti o neutrali), gestendo le attività dell'azienda all'estero secondo le direttive impartite dalla casa madre.

Pure le grandi imprese private che avevano la propria sede centrale a Trieste spostarono le attività in zone più sicure: il Lloyd Austriaco trasferì la propria direzione a Vienna, e lo stesso fecero i Cantieri Navali Triestini e lo Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino, spostandosi rispettivamente a Budapest e a Linz. In quest'ultima città traslò pure la distilleria Camis & Stock.

Estremamente interessante, infine, è la facilità con cui, a guerra finita, le imprese e la borghesia triestina si adattarono al nuovo status territoriale della zona. Famiglie e aziende che erano nate, fiorite, avevano avuto ottimi rapporti con l'Austria e proclamato sempre la propria fedeltà alla casa Asburgo, cambiarono bandiera con una velocità sconcertante.

E' chiaro che si trattò di un dare-avere tra la ricca borghesia cittadina e la nuova autorità italiana. La prima, preso atto dell'irreversibile fine dell'Impero e del crollo della monarchia, aveva tutto l'interesse a mantenere rapporti più che amichevoli con i nuovi padroni, tutelando in questo modo i propri interessi economici; la seconda, pur di evitare la fuga dei capitali appartenenti all'alta società triestina, soprassedeva all'antica lealtà verso l'Austria e concedeva alla borghesia cittadina una nuova verginità irredentista e filoitaliana (Cecotti, 2001b, 157, 161-164).

Sfollati e profughi

Se questo fu la sorte dell'alta e media borghesia, il destino delle classi sociali più basse fu diverso.

Già prima dello scoppio del conflitto, fu chiaro che il Litorale sarebbe stato uno degli scenari in cui si sarebbe svolta la guerra tra Italia ed Austria. Lo stesso Ministero degli interni di Vienna, dunque, aveva predisposto un piano di evacuazione dei luoghi più vicini alle zone di operazione e dai possibili obbiettivi militari. Tra il 17 e il 22 maggio fu dato il via all'evacuazione della zona lungo l'Isonzo, del Carso, di parte del Collio, di parte del Tarvisiano, di Pola e dell'Istria meridionale (queste ultime località vennero evacuate in quanto la città istriana rappresentava la maggior piazzaforte navale e la sede della flotta da guerra austriaca), nonché di zone del Trentino.

Interessante risulta il fatto che le autorità austriache non avessero predisposto l'evacuazione dell'area compresa tra il confine italo-austriaco e la linea di difesa (approssimativamente quella dell'Isonzo), limitandosi a trasferire la popolazione residente nella futura zona di operazioni. Questo fece sì che, contemporaneamente alle evacuazioni, si verificasse un esodo spontaneo di popolazione del Friuli austriaco, del Collio e della zona del goriziano non evacuata, che sfuggiva alla imminente avanzata delle truppe italiane.

Secondo le previsioni del Ministero degli interni lo sgombero avrebbe dovuto coinvolgere 40.000 persone.

In realtà l'afflusso di popolazione verso le retrovie fu molto più consistente e si protrasse per tutta la durata del conflitto.

Tolmino passò da 1.000 a 300 abitanti. A metà giugno a Gorizia, dei 28.000 abitanti di prima della guerra, ne rimanevano poco più di 15.000 (di cui 3.000 profughi), destinati a calare a 9.000 dopo la prima battaglia dell'Isonzo, scesi ulteriormente a 5.000 dopo la quarta battaglia dell'Isonzo. Quando nell'agosto del 1916 le truppe italiane entrarono in città vi trovarono non più di 3.500 persone, ed infine la città venne sgombrata totalmente al momento della rotta di Caporetto. Dal solo territorio di Pola, invece, furono evacuate 36.000 persone.

Gli sfollati furono inoltrati nell'interno della monarchia, soprattutto in Austria Inferiore, Austria Superiore,

Stiria e Ungheria. Vennero allestiti numerosi campi profughi che accolsero la popolazione proveniente dalle zone interessate alle operazioni militari, in alcuni casi procedendo ad alloggiare gli sfollati in campi profughi diversi a seconda della nazionalità: Bruck an der Leitha, Staeinklamm e Gmünd – quest'ultimo solo per alcuni mesi – ospitarono i profughi sloveni e croati del Litorale. Il campo più grande, quello di Wagna, ospitò invece i profughi italiani. Oltre ai campi profughi vennero allestiti pure campi di internamento per elementi considerati politicamente inaffidabili, per regnicoli o irredentisti (Malni, 1998; Malni, 2001, 98-153; Svoljšak, 1991).

Al numero degli evacuati si aggiunsero, in genere in condizioni ancora più precarie in quanto non assistiti dallo stato, coloro che si erano allontanati volontariamente, che spesso dovettero arrangiarsi per conto proprio. Molti di questi fecero base da parenti e amici residenti in luoghi non direttamente coinvolti dalla guerra: non è un caso che molti dei profughi "volontari" si siano diretti verso Trieste o, come già si è visto, a Gorizia quando questa non era ancora teatro di operazioni belliche (Cecotti, 2001b, 156-160, 169).

In contemporanea all'inoltro di profughi e sfollati verso l'Austria, un flusso analogo (anche se numericamente più ridotto) si verificò verso l'Italia. Le truppe italiane, nell'avanzata verso l'Isonzo, avevano conquistato nei primi giorni di guerra il Friuli austriaco, promuovendo in diversi casi lo sgombero dei centri occupati: Gradisca, Farra, i paesi del Collio e della zona di operazioni dell'Isonzo. In seguito fu sgomberata anche Monfalcone. Nel corso del conflitto a questi sfollati si aggiunsero altri: in particolare dopo la rotta di Caporetto la popolazione residua del goriziano dovette seguire le truppe italiane in ritirata. Nel Friuli orientale dopo Caporetto furono numerosi gli irredentisti che avevano accolto gli italiani come liberatori i quali inevitabilmente dovettero andarsene insieme all'esercito italiano.

Come nel caso degli evacuati all'interno dell'Austria-Ungheria, anche l'Italia predispose campi profughi per accogliere gli sfollati, prediligendo, tuttavia delle strutture più piccole di quelle allestite dall'Austria o addirittura la sistemazione dei profughi in "insediamenti sparsi" di qualche decina di persone, dispersi su buona parte del territorio nazionale. Si calcola che nella Contea di Gorizia e Gradisca su una popolazione prebellica complessiva di 260.000 persone, almeno 100.000 abbiano lasciato la propria abitazione per rifugiarsi in Austria e 20.000 in Italia. I profughi sfollati nel territorio della Monarchia dall'Istria furono circa 40.000 i profughi, e 10-20.000 da Trieste, per un totale di 140.000-150.000 persone provenienti dal Litorale, di cui 70.000-80.000 assistiti dallo Stato. Le cifre ufficiali riportate dal Ministero dell'interno austriaco risultano di difficile interpretazione, in quanto anziché riferirsi alla zona di provenienza, i profughi sono segnalati in base alla nazionalità. Dunque, secondo queste stime, al 1 gennaio

1918 gli sfollati di nazionalità italiana erano 114.383 (compresi, però, anche i trentini), 64.259 gli sloveni e 11.224 i croati. Quelli non assistiti dallo stato (nel febbraio-marzo 1917) erano 17.086 italiani e 5.781 tra sloveni e croati (Malni, 2001, 104-105).

Parallelamente, nelle zone di operazione del basso Friuli e dell'Isontino occupate dalle truppe italiane, si procedette all'internamento in Italia di coloro che avevano deciso di rimanere nelle proprie case nonostante lo scoppio della guerra. Secondo la storiografia italiana l'entità degli internati in Italia oscillerebbe tra le 40.000-50.000 unità (inclusi i profughi trentini). Queste cifre sono confermate dal Censimento dei profughi di guerra, pubblicato nel 1919 sulla base della situazione nell'ottobre del 1918 dal Ministero per le terre liberate, che segnalava presenti in Italia 50.658 profughi dalla Venezia Giulia, di cui 23.390 dalla contea di Gorizia e Gradisca, 18.839 da Trieste, 2.896 dall'Istria, 1.836 da Fiume, 3.521 dalla Dalmazia, 109 da Tarvisio e 67 da Postumia. Secondo la storiografia slovena, invece, il numero di profughi dal Litorale in Italia ammonterebbe a circa 70.000 unità (Malni, 1998, 30; Malni, 2001, 105-106; Svoljšak, 1991, 11).

Lo spopolamento di Trieste

A Trieste non furono presi provvedimenti di evacuazione, in quanto, esclusi episodi di bombardamenti aerei che provocarono una quarantina di vittime, la città non fu mai seriamente minacciata, pur trovandosi nelle retrovie del fronte. La sindrome di fuga, tuttavia, colpì anche in città: molte famiglie immigrate che vivevano a Trieste preferirono ritornare al proprio luogo di origine, altri dovettero allontanarsi perché venne trasferito il loro posto di lavoro, considerato più sicuro perché più lontano dal fronte. Una piccola parte dei profughi dalle zone di operazione e dall'Istria si stabilì nel capoluogo del Litorale, ma non tamponò l'emorragia di popolazione residente.

Negli anni di guerra il numero di residenti in città scese vertiginosamente: come già si è detto dai 243.415 abitanti del 1914 si passò ai 157.294 del 1915, 154.000 nel 1916 e 152.740 nel 1917 (secondo i dati della Commissione centrale per il pane).

Secondo lo statistico Luzzatto-Fegiz la popolazione si mantenne invece sulle 160.000 persone nel biennio 1916-1917 per poi risalire a 180.000 nel 1918. Non esiste alcun dato ufficiale per il 1918 (Comune di Trieste, 1955, 5-6; Luzzatto-Fegiz, 1929, 87).

Lo spopolamento di Trieste, oltre che per l'allontanamento dei regnicoli, la fuga dei fuoriusciti, l'esilio della borghesia commerciale ed imprenditoriale, fu dovuto anche ad altri movimenti migratori connessi alla situazione bellica.

Innanzitutto la chiamata alle armi: secondo i dati forniti a guerra finita dal Governatorato Militare della Venezia Giulia, i "richiamati, invalidi e militari morti"

triestini sarebbero ammontati a 63.426. Nella sola leva dell'agosto 1914 vennero arruolati 32.000 coscritti di Trieste e 30.000 dal Friuli austriaco (Cecotti, 2001b, 176; Rossi, 1999, 409-410).

Incise inoltre sullo spopolamento della città il mancato rientro di coloro che allo scoppio della guerra si trovavano altrove: quelli presenti in Italia o in paesi in guerra contro l'Austria, con misura analoga a quelle adottate nell'Impero, furono internati, ma l'impossibilità di ritornare a casa colpì anche coloro che si trovavano in altri luoghi dell'Austria-Ungheria: con ordinanza luogotenenziale il 9 luglio 1915 erano stati limitati i movimenti dei civili verso la città. Fu così che numerosi triestini (parecchie migliaia secondo Malni) passarono gli anni di guerra altrove. In particolare Vienna, Graz, Maribor e Celje rappresentarono luoghi dove i gruppi di triestini furono più corposi (Malni, 2001, 101, 145; Cecotti, 2001b, 160, 177).

Altri mancati rientri furono quelli del personale marittimo, le cui navi al momento dello scoppio delle ostilità si trovavano in porti stranieri. In alcuni casi le navi furono prese in consegna da paesi nemici dell'Austria (perlopiù inglesi, considerato che diverse linee triestine avevano come meta i porti delle colonie britanniche) e gli equipaggi internati; in altri le navi si trovarono – o si diressero – verso porti di paesi neutrali, dove gli equipaggi passarono il periodo bellico. Spesso questi marinai del Litorale, viste le ristrettezze economiche che questa condizione provocava, abbandonarono le navi e si imbarcarono su bastimenti di compagnie di navigazione neutrali. In altri casi ancora i piroscafi si diressero volontariamente verso i porti italiani, manifestando chiaramente la scelta irredentista degli ufficiali, dell'equipaggio o dell'armatore. Secondo il giornale triestino del movimento socialista "Il Lavoratore", agli inizi del 1918 erano 450 i marinai triestini in territorio straniero (Cecotti, 2001a, 27-47).

La fame

Un altro motivo di abbandono della città da parte di chi poteva fu la fame.

Nel corso del conflitto la situazione peggiorò drammaticamente per quanto riguardava gli approvvigionamenti. Le derrate alimentari giungevano a stento in città e per chi aveva contatti con zone rurali più lontane dalla zona di operazione il trasferimento fuori città rappresentò una scelta decisamente più allettante rispetto alla permanenza a Trieste. La composizione della popolazione di Trieste, in parte emigrata in città negli ultimi decenni, fece sì che molti triestini che avevano ancora contatti con i luoghi di origine delle proprie famiglie, abbandonassero la città nella speranza di trovare condizioni alimentari migliori in zone di campagna. Sfortunata fu la scelta di coloro che decisero di recarsi in Istria. Le condizioni della penisola, gravemente spo-

polata nella parte meridionale e tagliata fuori dall'approvvigionamento ufficiale che prediligeva la grande città di Trieste o la piazzaforte militare di Pola, erano decisamente peggiori che nel centro urbano. I triestini che si erano recati in Istria tentarono di spostarsi altrove o di rientrare a Trieste, dove almeno era possibile trovare qualcosa attraverso il contrabbando. Gli ultimi anni di guerra, infatti, rappresentarono un periodo estremamente florido per il mercato nero e molti speculatori dovettero l'inizio della propria fortuna proprio a queste attività. Questi anni vennero ricordati tanto da coloro che vissero questo periodo, quanto dalla memoria storica delle generazioni successive come un periodo di fame, miseria e privazioni quali Trieste non aveva mai vissuto e mai più si ritrovò a dover subire.

I trasferimenti delle attività economiche e amministrative

L'interruzione pressoché totale dell'attività del porto e delle iniziative economico-commerciali, o il loro trasferimento altrove, furono un'altra delle cause della spaventosa flessione demografica di Trieste: come già si è detto alcune delle più importanti aziende avevano spostato la propria sede in luoghi più sicuri, ma i trasferimenti non riguardarono solo aziende private, bensì anche uffici statali pubblici e servizi pubblici. Il Tribunale fu spostato a Postumia per circa un mese; più travagliata fu la vicenda della Luogotenenza che prese sede ad Abbazia per tornare a Trieste il 1° gennaio 1918 ed essere nuovamente spostata a Graz il 31 ottobre. Ad Abbazia trovò rifugio pure il Tribunale Commerciale e Marittimo e la Procura. Anche le direzioni delle Poste, delle Dogane e della Finanza furono trasferite in altre località. Il Governo Marittimo invece traslocò a Graz. In conseguenza a questi spostamenti, dovette trasferirsi anche buona parte del personale impiegato in queste amministrazioni.

Ma il caso che ebbe le maggiori conseguenze e che si profila come l'inizio (pur non pianificato) del ridimensionamento multi-etnico di Trieste è quello del personale impiegato nelle ferrovie.

La Direzione compartimentale delle ferrovie, analogamente a quanto era già accaduto ad altri servizi pubblici, fu trasferita a Wels, nell'Austria Superiore. A Trieste venne mantenuto un distaccamento locale.

In conseguenza a questo trasferimento (e pure all'interruzione del traffico ferroviario con l'Italia) buona parte dei ferrovieri di stanza a Trieste venne destinata altrove. Le mete furono Lubiana, Graz e Vienna, nonché le località poste sulle direttrici delle linee ferroviarie della Südbahn (la linea Trieste-Vienna) e di tratte ferroviarie che partivano da Lubiana raggiungendo altre stazioni della Carniola e della Croazia.

Il trasferimento dei ferrovieri fu – regnicoli a parte – quello che interessò il maggior numero di persone. Si

trattava perlopiù di sloveni, giunti a Trieste negli ultimi decenni ed in particolare con l'inaugurazione della Ferrovia dei Tauri. La nuova linea Transalpina aveva portato a Trieste quasi esclusivamente ferrovieri sloveni: secondo Tamaro quasi 4.000 persone tra ferrovieri e loro famigliari, in base ad un chiaro disegno del governo austriaco teso a rafforzare l'elemento non italiano in città (Tamaro, 1976, 497). Pur trattandosi di un nucleo di popolazione di recente insediamento, i ferrovieri si erano presto integrati nel tessuto cittadino, stabilendosi nei rioni prossimi alla stazione (Roiano, Gretta), ed a San Giovanni, zona che permetteva un migliore ambientamento nella nuova città, in quanto si trattava, allora, di un rione compattamente sloveno.

Il trasferimento dei ferrovieri fu un provvedimento rigorosamente tecnico: rispondeva alla necessità di rendere più agili le linee che collegavano l'interno con il fronte e a quella di non mantenere un gruppo così sproorzionato di personale in un luogo che aveva visto interrompersi qualsiasi collegamento ferroviario con il vicino Friuli. Dopo Caporetto, la conquista austriaca del Friuli permise la riattivazione di alcune tratte ferroviarie verso ovest ed il ritorno di una parte dei ferrovieri alla sede di Trieste.

Il rientro dei ferrovieri sloveni in città non fu mai completato, e al momento dell'arrivo delle truppe italiane questo venne a bloccarsi: una parte di essi non desiderava restare sotto l'Italia e dunque preferì rimanere nei luoghi della Carniola dove erano stati destinati oppure ritornò ai propri luoghi d'origine, mentre ad un'altra le nuove autorità non permise il rientro in quanto non originaria del Litorale.

Paradossalmente, dunque, il primo episodio di modifica etnica del territorio ai danni degli sloveni venne promosso dall'Austria. Lo spostamento dei ferrovieri sloveni non rispose chiaramente ad un disegno di modifica dell'equilibrio etnico di Trieste: l'Austria, semmai, poteva avere interesse ad incrementare la presenza slovena in città, essendo questi ultimi sicuramente più leali verso la corona asburgica di quanto non lo fosse la popolazione italiana, in parte pericolosamente irredentista. Ma il trasferimento del periodo bellico fu utilizzato dall'Italia per iniziare quel piano di metamorfosi etnica che, nel giro di qualche decennio, avrebbe portato una città multi-etnica e cosmopolita a fregiarsi del titolo di "italianissima".

IL "COMITATO DI SALUTE PUBBLICA"

La difficile situazione sociale di Trieste si fece ancora più delicata nei giorni del trapasso dei poteri tra l'amministrazione austro-ungarica e quella italiana. Nei giorni dell'agonia dell'Impero le prospettive del futuro assetto di Trieste furono nebulose: da parte irredentista si dava per scontata l'unione all'Italia, ma si diffusero pure voci su una possibile associazione alla futura Jugo-

slavia, mentre i socialisti auspicavano la nascita di una "Libera Repubblica Triestina", una città indipendente sotto il patronato della Lega delle Nazioni (anche se le opinioni personali degli esponenti socialisti a riguardo erano piuttosto divergenti).

Nei giorni del trapasso dei poteri tra Austria e Italia, quelli tra il 30 ottobre e il 3 novembre, l'ordine pubblico in città venne gestito da un autonomatosi "Comitato di salute pubblica", composto dai rappresentanti dei liberalnazionali e dei socialisti, a cui più tardi vennero associati anche i delegati dei movimenti slavi: due per i "nazionali" e due per i socialisti.

Nonostante la presenza dei rappresentanti sloveni all'interno del Comitato, tuttavia il "dopo Austria" iniziava in maniera preoccupante per la popolazione non italiana di Trieste: già il 30 ottobre la degenerazione di una manifestazione pro Italia aveva portato i manifestanti a scagliarsi armati contro il Narodni Dom, l'edificio dove avevano sede numerose iniziative economiche e culturali degli sloveni di Trieste, che rappresentava, tanto per gli sloveni e croati quanto per gli italiani, il simbolo della presenza slovena nel Litorale. Gli incidenti provocarono nelle vicinanze la prima vittima della violenza etnica a Trieste: Anton Irgolič, un ferroviere sloveno, colpito, forse solo di rimbalzo, da un proiettile (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 1, 144).

Anche la comunità tedesca di Trieste ebbe in quei giorni i primi sentori di quello che sarebbe stato di lì a poco il suo destino: il primo novembre il Comitato di salute pubblica rifiutò al "Deutscher Volksrat für Triest und Küstenland", l'organizzazione dei triestini di lingua tedesca, di avere propri rappresentanti nel comitato stesso, motivandolo con il fatto che *"i tedeschi abitanti a Trieste e nelle altre terre della Regione Giulia formano un nucleo troppo esiguo"* (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 2, 117-118). Va notato che a Trieste il gruppo tedesco contava prima della guerra più di 10.000 componenti e che comunità tedesche di una notevole consistenza erano presenti anche a Gorizia, Cormons, Lucinico, Pola, Abbazia, Portorose e Lovrana.

IL GOVERNATORATO MILITARE

Militari ed ex prigionieri. Il rientro di profughi, sfollati e soldati austro-ungarici

Il 3 novembre, con lo sbarco delle truppe dalla motonave Audace, l'Italia prese ufficialmente possesso di Trieste e della Venezia Giulia, contro il parere tanto del Narodni Svet di Trieste, quanto della diplomazia del futuro Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni, che in sede internazionale premevano affinché la città venisse occupata sì dalle truppe italiane, ma in rappresentanza dell'Intesa e che fosse la conferenza di pace a stabilire la futura assegnazione territoriale del Litorale.

Da parte italiana, invece, l'atto di annessione fu

completo e irreversibile fin dal momento in cui il governatore militare Carlo Petitti di Roreto mise piede sul suolo triestino.

Il primo problema che Petitti di Roreto si trovò ad affrontare fu la gestione del rientro dei profughi che avevano trascorso il periodo bellico lontani dal Litorale e, soprattutto, la gestione delle decine di migliaia di soldati allo sbando che giungevano in città. Già prima dell'armistizio un certo numero di ex prigionieri di guerra italiani si aggirava per Trieste, creando, in una città praticamente priva di forze dell'ordine e senza una reale autorità che la controllasse, gravi problemi di ordine pubblico. A questi si aggiungevano gli sbandati dell'esercito austro-ungarico in rotta che transitavano per la città nel loro viaggio di ritorno alle proprie case.

Il Comitato di salute pubblica aveva provveduto ad emanare degli ordini con cui si permetteva il rientro a Trieste dei militari con residenza in zona, mentre si obbligavano i militari non appartenenti alle province del Litorale ad abbandonare la città, ma per far rispettare questi provvedimenti poteva contare solo su un esiguo numero di volontari della neonata guardia nazionale e sul reparto cecoslovacco di stanza a Trieste che si era messo a disposizione del Comitato; entrambi i corpi, tuttavia, erano già impegnati nei compiti di mantenimento dell'ordine pubblico. Il Comitato, inoltre, aveva inviato telegrammi ai campi di raccolta per profughi dal Litorale e ad alcuni maggiorei che si erano rifugiati all'interno dell'Austria, segnalando la possibilità del rientro in città.

La situazione degenerò con la fine ufficiale delle ostilità. Già al momento dello sbarco di Petitti erano presenti a Trieste diverse migliaia di ex prigionieri di guerra italiani. Con il passare dei giorni gli arrivi si fecero sempre più corposi: il 9 novembre giunsero in città 5.000 militari, 16.000 il 10. Il 15 novembre i soldati presenti in città erano 60.000, aumentati a 90.000 il 17 per toccare l'apice (150.000, ma il numero sembra calcolato in eccesso) il 19 novembre (Visintin, 2000, 16). Secondo una stima fatta dal comandante dei campi di raccolta sulla base del numero di vagoni giunti a Trieste nel novembre del '18 e sulla media di soldati per vagoni, a Trieste transitarono in quei giorni 160.000 soldati, con un numero massimo di 105.000 presenze in città (Puissa, 2001, 191).

Gli ex prigionieri vennero concentrati nelle strutture del porto vecchio e del porto nuovo, dove vennero organizzati, in mezzo a problemi logistici ed igienici considerevoli, i rimpatri via mare e a mezzo ferrovia. In diversi casi si verificarono casi di insubordinazione, fughe, devastazioni delle strutture portuali, tentativi scomposti di raggiungere le navi in partenza. Alla fine del mese buona parte degli uomini era ormai stata inoltrata in Italia. Nel periodo di permanenza degli ex prigionieri e dei soldati a Trieste si registrarono 1.235 decessi per malattia, perlopiù per polmonite e per la co-

siddetta "influenza spagnola" (Visintin, 2000, 17-18). Al termine di novembre erano stati rimpatriati 103.930 militari, mentre ne restavano ancora 10.000, di cui circa la metà degenti in strutture ospedaliere (Puissa, 2001, 192).

Petitti di Roreto lavorò con grande sollecitudine allo sgombero del porto dai militari italiani anche perché era attesa una seconda ondata di affluenze di ex militari, questa volta ex soldati austro-ungarici originari del Litorale e di ritorno alle proprie case.

L'emergenza prigionieri poté dirsi conclusa già alla fine di novembre: il 28 novembre il punto di raccolta al porto vecchio venne smantellato, e tutti i soldati ancora in attesa di imbarco vennero concentrati presso il porto nuovo, a S. Andrea.

Estremamente più complesso e lungo fu il rientro in zona di coloro che prima della guerra erano residenti nel Litorale e che avevano passato il periodo bellico altrove, fossero essi profughi, soldati dell'Impero provenienti dalle zone d'operazione, prigionieri austro-ungarici internati in Italia o negli altri paesi dell'Intesa.

I profughi sfollati dalle zone d'operazione verso l'interno della duplice monarchia avevano cominciato a fare ritorno già dopo la riconquista dell'intero Litorale conseguente a Caporetto, tuttavia alla fine delle ostilità erano ancora circa 30.000 gli ex residenti nel Litorale sparsi nel territorio dell'Austria-Ungheria (60.000 in dicembre secondo il "Comitato per il rimpatrio dei profughi italiani") (Malni, 1998, 170, 172; Malni, 2001, 144).

Nei primi giorni del novembre 1918, come già si è visto, i rimanenti profughi del Litorale cominciarono a rientrare. Il Comitato di salute pubblica favorì il rientro, annullando la necessità del lasciapassare per gli spostamenti verso la città per i residenti a Trieste prima della guerra e sollecitando il Comando delle ferrovie ad inoltrare senza indugio coloro che appartenevano alle province del Litorale.

Il ritorno dei profughi che avevano trascorso gli anni di guerra in località dell'ex Impero fu un flusso continuo che perdurò per un periodo piuttosto lungo. Nel caso degli sfollati che avevano passato la guerra nei campi profughi il rientro fu organizzato dalle nuove autorità italiane, quelli che invece erano riusciti a trovare una sistemazione autonoma dovettero arrangiarsi da soli, ed il ritorno fu reso più difficoltoso dalla sospensione del traffico ferroviario da e per l'Austria (ed anche dei servizi telegrafici e telefonici verso l'ex Impero) decretati dal Governatore il 5 novembre (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 42-43).

Le autorità militari tentarono di esercitare un controllo sui rientri, sia nell'intento di limitare l'impatto su zone duramente provate dalla guerra, sia di impedire il reinsediamento in città a persone indesiderate.

Il controllo degli abitanti del Litorale che durante la guerra si erano rifugiati o erano stati sfollati in Italia risultò molto più efficace rispetto a quelli che avevano

trovato rifugio all'interno dell'Austria-Ungheria. Ai primi, infatti, potevano negare il permesso di rientro nella Venezia Giulia tanto le autorità di pubblica sicurezza del luogo dove avevano passato il periodo bellico, quanto il Governatorato insediato a Trieste. Coloro che invece provenivano dai territori dell'ormai defunta monarchia, visto il caos istituzionale seguente al crollo dell'Austria e l'incertezza politico-territoriale in cui si dibattevano gli ex territori asburgici, potevano muoversi all'interno dell'ex Impero con relativa facilità, fino a giungere alla linea di armistizio controllata dagli italiani, che, però, poteva essere passata clandestinamente senza grossi problemi da chi conoscesse le zone. Le truppe italiane, inoltre, raggiunsero il limite territoriale stabilito dall'armistizio solo il 24 novembre, dunque fino a quel giorno molte zone del confine erano effettivamente prive di controllo.

Petitti di Roreto aveva emanato degli ordini secondo cui chi provenisse dal Litorale era autorizzato a rientrare nella Venezia Giulia, mentre coloro che non provenivano dalla zona conquistata dall'esercito italiano dovevano essere respinti. Questi provvedimenti, com'è ovvio, crearono delle situazioni ambigue e di difficile soluzione: in assenza di specificazione stava alla discrezione dei funzionari non permettere il rientro di coloro che fossero *nati* fuori dal Litorale, pur essendovi stati residenti (nel gergo burocratico dell'epoca *pertinenti*) per lungo tempo. La pertinenza veniva concessa dalle autorità austriache dopo dieci anni di residenza ininterrotta nel Litorale, ma il fatto che per i cinque anni di guerra fosse mancato un reale controllo e che molti dei pertinenti avessero passato il periodo bellico fuori dalla Venezia Giulia complicava notevolmente le cose e dava ai nuovi funzionari l'arbitrio di concedere o meno il rientro o la permanenza nella zona.

La storiografia italiana e quelle di altri paesi si dividono sulla valutazione delle conseguenze di questi provvedimenti. Secondo buona parte degli storici italiani nel Litorale subito dopo la fine della guerra non si verificò il fenomeno dell'espulsione di massa delle componenti etniche minoritarie, come avvenne, ad esempio in Alsazia-Lorena, facendo sì che gli sfratti oltre la linea di armistizio si limitassero a pochi casi; secondo la storiografia straniera e slovena in particolare fu proprio l'escamotage della pertinenza il primo episodio della pulizia etnica ai danni delle minoranze slave della Venezia Giulia. Secondo quest'interpretazione il provvedimento costò l'espulsione immediata di 300 persone, anche se l'informazione già all'epoca fu smentita come falsa da Petitti di Roreto (Apollonio, 2001, 96, 106). L'ambiguità dei provvedimenti italiani fu utilizzata con lo scopo di impedire il rientro a persone non gradite alle nuove autorità: a diversi sacerdoti sloveni venne impedito il ritorno nelle loro parrocchie per il fatto che essi erano originari di territori al di fuori della linea di occupazione (Visintin, 2000, 122). Il clero sloveno e croato

era considerato dalle autorità italiane come il veicolo più pericoloso del nazionalismo slavo, dunque fu molto alto il numero dei religiosi che già nel 1919 subirono vessazioni di vario genere dalle nuove autorità d'occupazione: 35 sacerdoti furono internati, altri 23 incarcerati. Inoltre furono 93 i preti e 79 i frati e monaci inviati coercitivamente oltre confine (Žerjavić, 1993, 634).

Piuttosto complessa fu anche la vicenda degli ex militari austroungarici che tentavano di rientrare nelle proprie case. I primi reduci dell'esercito imperiale giunsero a Trieste come sbandati dal fronte già ai primi di novembre. Più tardi cominciarono a rientrare dai luoghi di internamento in Italia gli ex prigionieri catturati dagli italiani nel corso del conflitto.

Negli intenti della amministrazione militare italiana, essi avrebbero dovuto essere sottoposti a misure di riconoscimento, di controllo, di quarantena e al congedo. Ma accadde spesso che questi militari, una volta giunti a Trieste, si eclissassero senza attendere le formalità previste. Semplicemente scendevano dai treni, fuggendo e ritornando alla propria casa con i propri mezzi. Le nuove autorità italiane si dimostrarono spesso incapaci di fronteggiare queste situazioni, e tanto meno di rintracciare questi uomini una volta scesi dai convogli: la conoscenza ed il controllo del nuovo territorio da parte delle truppe di occupazione italiane era superficiale e, soprattutto nell'Isontino, nell'Istria interna e nel circondario triestino la collaborazione da parte della popolazione e delle amministrazioni locali era poco più che formale, quando non si trattava di un sentimento di chiara ostilità.

Ben presto le autorità italiane emanarono delle norme tese a controllare gli ex soldati austro-ungarici rientrati ed eventualmente ad internarli quando si dimostrassero potenziali portatori di idee rivoluzionarie o nazionaliste slave. Già il Comitato di salute pubblica aveva ordinato al Comando delle ferrovie di fermare tutti i militari non appartenenti "a queste provincie" e di obbligarli ad abbandonare la città quanto prima (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 2, 43). Anche in questo caso tuttavia non era specificato come comportarsi con quelli che prima della guerra erano residenti a Trieste, ma che erano però originari di altre località dell'Impero.

Con la costituzione del Governatorato la permanenza dei militari divenne ancor più difficile: il 7 novembre, per gestire i rimpatri, il Governatore emanò un avviso secondo cui tutti gli ex prigionieri austriaci dovevano concentrarsi nei campi allestiti al Porto Vecchio e al Porto Nuovo; il giorno successivo un altro avviso autorizzò i cittadini di altre nazionalità a lasciare Trieste per "far ritorno nei loro paesi d'origine, previo il rilascio di un lasciapassare da parte del Comando dei carabinieri" (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 73, 81). Il 17 novembre Petitti di Roreto in un altro decreto stabiliva che "Gli ex militari austriaci che tutt'ora trovansi entro la linea di confine segnata dall'armistizio, possono essere

lasciati liberi se vengono trovati nel paese dove sono nati", e che "quelli di altra nazionalità, dovranno versare le armi e rientrare nei loro paesi d'origine per via ordinaria o valendosi dei treni di ritorno. In caso di rifiuto saranno fatti prigionieri" (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 148).

Con questo decreto veniva per la prima volta a palesarsi la distinzione tra chi era nato nel territorio della Venezia Giulia e chi vi era solo residente. La situazione dei soldati di nazionalità slovena, nati nella Carniola ma pertinenti al Litorale diventava così estremamente ambigua: stava all'arbitrio dell'autorità permettere a loro di rimanere nel Litorale o spedirli nei luoghi dove essi erano nati.

Ulteriori e più gravi provvedimenti furono adottati dal 24 novembre in poi, quando, raggiunto il confine dell'armistizio, il Ministero degli interni si preoccupò di consolidare il controllo sul territorio. Il 25, il presidente del consiglio Vittorio Emanuele Orlando auspicava l'arresto come prigionieri o l'espulsione oltre il confine armistiziali di quegli ufficiali "che si dicono jugoslavi ma che hanno ugualmente la divisa austriaca"; il 26 il generale Badoglio del Comando Supremo ordinava "di considerare prigionieri di guerra tutti i cittadini già appartenenti all'esercito austro-ungarico e rimasti entro la linea di armistizio dopo il limite di tempo previsto dall'armistizio" (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 223, 228). Il 28 novembre un ulteriore bando dava solamente 24 ore agli ex soldati austro-ungarici per consegnarsi come prigionieri di guerra o varcare definitivamente la linea di demarcazione (Nećak, 1972, 159); un altro bando apparso il 5 dicembre invitava i soldati a presentarsi al campo di raccolta di Cormons. La maggior parte di coloro che si presentarono venne interrogata e rilasciata dopo qualche giorno, ma alcuni, ritenuti pericolosi, furono internati in Trentino o nell'Ascolano (Visintini, 2000, 181-182).

E' evidente che in queste condizioni un certo numero di militari decidesse di abbandonare la zona, visti i rischi di internamento che la permanenza in loco poteva comportare. Si verificò dunque la fuoriuscita di un numero considerevole di ex soldati che varcarono la linea di confine. Giunti in Jugoslavia, però, essi vennero immediatamente arruolati nell'esercito del nuovo Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni e inviati sul fronte carinziano, dove jugoslavi e austriaci si fronteggiavano in una guerra non dichiarata per il possesso della Carinzia del sud.

L'arruolamento nelle file dell'esercito jugoslavo era già un fenomeno esistente negli ultimi giorni della duplice monarchia, ma le misure repressive delle autorità di occupazione italiane e l'automatico arruolamento degli ex soldati austroungarici nell'esercito del Regno dei serbi, Croati e Sloveni, fece sì che il numero di persone coinvolte fosse piuttosto alto.

Alcuni elenchi reperiti tra i documenti della Pisarna za zasedeno ozemlje, l'organizzazione dei profughi slo-

veni e croati del Litorale rifugiatisi in territorio jugoslavo, riportano un elenco di 167 soldati dell'esercito austro-ungarico originari del Litorale riparati oltre la linea di demarcazione che l'11 marzo 1919 vennero inviati a Dravograd, in Carinzia, per sostenere l'annessione della Carinzia meridionale alla Jugoslavia. Ne emerge come gli arruolamenti, relativamente pochi nel periodo in cui era ancora operativo l'esercito imperial-regio, si moltiplicarono con l'occupazione del Litorale da parte italiana. In alcuni elenchi è riportato pure il motivo dell'arruolamento: in nessun caso i soldati scelsero di passare in Jugoslavia per caldeggiare l'annessione della Carinzia, mentre l'arruolamento è giustificato genericamente con un "radi Italijani" – a causa degli italiani –; altre volte si parla chiaramente di una scelta fatta per evitare l'internamento (ARS, PZO, f.1, S.; Purini, 2000b, 373).

Ancora più lunga e movimentata fu la vicenda del rientro dei soldati austroungarici fatti prigionieri in Russia. Migliaia di soldati austroungarici provenienti dal Litorale erano stati catturati (o si erano arresi) ai russi durante le operazioni nei Carpazi. Durante la guerra solo una parte di essi aveva potuto rientrare in Europa grazie all'opera della Missione Militare Italiana, la quale reclutava prigionieri austroungarici di nazionalità e sentimenti italiani con l'obiettivo di arruolarli nell'esercito italiano e inviarli al fronte contro l'Austria. Tra il 1916 e il 1917, 4.440 di essi raggiunsero Torino dopo un lungo viaggio via Arkangelsk e Glasgow, ma non vennero mai impiegati nella zona di operazioni e poterono rientrare a Trieste solo dopo l'armistizio. Altri ancora raggiunsero l'Italia dopo una vera e propria odissea via nave e treno che da Vladivostok li aveva portati a San Francisco, New York ed infine a Genova.

I rientri degli ex militari austroungarici si protrassero per lungo tempo, addirittura fino al '20 per quanto riguarda i prigionieri in Russia, bloccati dalla Rivoluzione e dalla guerra civile. Il governo italiano se ne occupò solo nel 1919, ma il rientro della maggior parte dei militari avvenne nel 1920 (con alcune eccezioni da parte di singoli che stabilirono di restare in Russia, ritornando, in alcuni casi, solo alla fine degli anni '20).

Al loro rientro gli ex prigionieri in Russia si trovarono in una situazione piuttosto difficile: erano sospetti coloro che durante la guerra non avevano aderito alla prospettiva di rientro per combattere a fianco degli italiani, in più il fatto di aver trascorso la prigionia in Russia durante la Rivoluzione e di essere rimasti "a lungo in contatto con gli elementi rivoluzionari russi", ne facevano, agli occhi delle autorità italiane, dei potenziali sovversivi, quando non venivano considerati tout court dei bolscevichi. Il destino degli ex prigionieri fu dunque, spesso, l'internamento in alcuni campi (a Trieste nel castello di San Giusto e a Prosecco, a Cormons, a Castelfranco Veneto, a Gardolo, a Gossolengo vicino Piacenza, ed in altre località delle Marche, della Puglia e della Sardegna), dove venivano interrogati, dove erano valutate le

loro opinioni politiche e si svolgeva un eventuale periodo di rieducazione. Non pochi furono i casi di persone rimaste per mesi in queste strutture (Rossi, 1997; 1999).

Periodicamente gli ex prigionieri e gli ex soldati austroungarici pertinenti al Litorale furono obbligati a ripresentarsi alle autorità militari. Ben presto questa misura divenne una vera e propria ossessione: nel corso di questi controlli veniva infatti valutata la condotta sociale ed "italiana" dei reduci e il solo sospetto che la persona avesse dimostrato atteggiamenti sovversivi o pericolosi era sufficiente all'internamento (Apollonio, 2001, 95).

Nel campo di Cormons, secondo la Pisarna za zase-deno ozemlje, furono internati circa 3.000 ufficiali dell'ex esercito austro-ungarico, mentre in quello di Gardolo, secondo fonti italiane, erano presenti addirittura 30.000 internati, rientrati dalla Russia, pertinenti alla Venezia Giulia, alla Dalmazia e al Trentino (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 108-109).

Coloro che durante la guerra si erano rifugiati in Italia furono sottoposti ad ancora maggiori controlli. Nei loro confronti le autorità italiane, sia nel luogo di rifugio, sia nella Venezia Giulia, applicarono una serie di accertamenti incrociati al fine di sondare la loro affidabilità politica ed i loro sentimenti patriottici. Non era raro, infatti, il caso di persone fuggite in Italia nel 1914 per evitare il servizio militare nell'esercito austriaco già in guerra, che, rifiutatisi di prestare servizio in quello italiano dopo il 1915 erano state internate in campi di concentramento nell'Italia meridionale o in Sardegna. Furono questi i primi casi di confino, il sistema di isolamento di persone ritenute socialmente e politicamente pericolose, in seguito ampiamente utilizzato dal regime fascista.

Nei primi mesi di occupazione delle "terre redente" le autorità limitarono il rientro dall'Italia, organizzando il rimpatrio solo di quei rifugiati "eccellenti", noti per la loro militanza irredentista. Addirittura agli stessi volontari nell'esercito italiano fu rinviata la partenza: quelli residenti a Milano lamentarono il fatto che mentre a diversi civili era stato permesso il ritorno a casa, a loro questo veniva ancora impedito (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 198).

Con il 1919 il Governatorato permise il rientro nella Venezia Giulia a un numero via via crescente di fuoriusciti, subordinandolo però ad un attento esame dell'orientamento politico-nazionale del richiedente. La possibilità di rientro venne concessa senza difficoltà a coloro che dimostravano "sentimenti italiani", l'adesione alla causa italiana e, requisito indispensabile, la nazionalità italiana (Biondi, 2001, 60; Cecotti, 2001c, 89; Malni, 2001, 144; Cecotti, 2001b, 174). A questi controlli sottostarono tanto gli ex cittadini austriaci già residenti nella Venezia Giulia, quanto gli ex "regnicoli". Per le autorità italiane non esisteva ormai più alcuna differenza tra coloro che avevano abitato nel Litorale prebellico essendo cittadini austriaci o cittadini italiani.

Particolarmente severi furono invece i provvedimenti

per coloro che mostravano opinioni politiche non in linea con i requisiti richiesti: socialisti, internazionalisti, anarchici, sfollati di nazionalità non italiana.

A queste categorie il permesso di rientro fu negato a volte per anni. In alcuni casi anarchici, socialisti, sloveni, croati, "austriacanti" o ex funzionari ancora fedeli al passato regime, viste le lungaggini frapposte al rientro dall'autorità militare optarono per l'emigrazione in altri paesi (Jugoslavia, Austria, Francia, Svizzera, Russia), in altri gli internati morirono senza poter rientrare. Sono documentati pure alcuni episodi in cui le autorità rifiutarono il rientro ad aderenti alla Democrazia Sociale Irredenta, il gruppo irredentista che si rifaceva ad ideali mazziniani e repubblicani, in quanto essi non si riconoscevano nel movimento liberalnazionale e nelle altre associazioni patriottiche che detenevano i contatti con il Governatorato e spesso rilasciavano gli attestati di "italianità" dei profughi (Biondi, 2001, 65; Cecotti, 2001c, 85-88; 2001b, 182).

A prescindere dai controlli e dagli ostacoli frapposti dalle nuove autorità, i rientri tuttavia continuarono. Dal 29 novembre al 13 gennaio si calcolò che questi ammontavano a 12.000, di cui 4.000 nel solo Triestino (Cecotti, 2001b, 173). Secondo Luzzato Fegiz a fine anno la popolazione della città era risalita a 180.000 abitanti, per arrivare a 204.000 l'anno successivo. Secondo le statistiche del Comune, invece, nella prima metà del 1919 la popolazione ammontava a 203.993 unità ed a novembre gli abitanti erano 225.645. Con il passare del tempo il governo italiano dovette allentare la rigidità dei controlli per l'autorizzazione al rientro, in quanto l'ospitalità dei profughi nei luoghi d'Italia dove si erano rifugiati gravava sulle amministrazioni locali, che cominciarono a dare segni d'insofferenza per la spesa assistenziale che la permanenza dei profughi comportava. Da parte loro alcuni uffici del Governatorato cercarono di impedire ulteriormente il rientro dei profughi, ufficialmente con il pretesto che – specie nella Bassa Friulana e nelle ex zone d'operazione – la casa e il lavoro per gli ex sfollati mancavano, di fatto perché si temeva che essi costituissero un gruppo tra cui si annidavano sovversivi e persone di scarsi sentimenti italiani, le cui idee avrebbero potuto far presa sull'intera categoria degli ex profughi (Apollonio, 2001, 98).

Nel corso del 1920, tuttavia, tranne nei casi già segnalati di persone politicamente sgradite e degli ex militari in Russia, il flusso di rientro si era fundamentalmente esaurito.

Il rientro dei regnicoli, la partenza degli asburgici

Nel 1919 rientrò anche la stragrande maggioranza dei regnicoli, ormai parificati a tutti gli effetti ai residenti a Trieste di ex cittadinanza austriaca. Assieme a loro, tuttavia, immigrarono a Trieste anche molti italiani delle "vecchie province" attirati dalle prospettive che offriva la

città adriatica: nell'immaginario collettivo una città ricca, in cui vi era la possibilità di fare fortuna. Durante l'anno il numero totale di persone proveniente dai vecchi confini del Regno d'Italia fu di 39.483, ex regnicoli e nuovi immigrati (Biondi, 2001, 64). Questi ultimi, come si vedrà più estesamente in seguito, trovarono lavoro generalmente nel pubblico impiego, grazie ai posti lasciati vacanti dalla componente non italiana della pubblica amministrazione.

Il cambio di sovranità su Trieste infatti aveva provocato la partenza da Trieste di numerose categorie legate al regime asburgico: come è stato già segnalato molti funzionari dello stato austriaco erano stati trasferiti insieme alle direzioni dei loro uffici in zone più sicure. In molti di questi casi non erano più tornati.

Molti degli alti funzionari dell'apparato burocratico asburgico e degli organi imperiali di pubblica sicurezza avevano già provveduto a fare le valigie negli ultimi giorni di guerra, lasciando gli uffici nelle mani di personale subordinato (Apollonio, 2001, 91). Buona parte degli addetti all'ordine pubblico non italiani fu trasferita nel corso del 1919 nel neonato Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni in base ad un accordo tra i due governi. Migliaia di persone lasciarono la Venezia Giulia, portando, in alcune zone, ad un vero e proprio spopolamento: addirittura dalla sola Pola vi fu un esodo che coinvolse da 20 a 25.000 individui, nella maggioranza persone la cui presenza in città era legata alle attività del porto militare (Apollonio, 2001, 97, 101; Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 125).

La pubblica amministrazione, come già si è visto, contava una maggioranza di assunti non italiani, che ebbero a subire pesanti campagne di denigrazione, quando non aperte spinte ad andarsene. I funzionari non italiani erano preponderanti nelle poste, nei Magazzini Generali, nelle società di armamento, nelle officine municipalizzate, nelle dogane, nella gendarmeria, nella finanza, nelle ferrovie. Secondo stime del 1910 dei 4.600 dipendenti statali presenti a Trieste 3.600 erano slavi e 700 erano tedeschi. Nel compartimento di Trieste delle Ferrovie dello stato austriache su 828 dipendenti, gli slavi erano 726 (quasi tutti sloveni) e i tedeschi 30; nella Südbahn (allora a gestione privata) su 1.098 addetti 968 erano slavi e 50 tedeschi. I primi licenziamenti nel settore ferroviario riguardarono il personale tedesco (Apollonio, 2001, 107).

La comunità tedesca

E fu appunto la comunità tedesca di Trieste, che secondo il censimento del 1910 ammontava a 11.856 persone, a pagare più delle altre il prezzo dei trasferimenti di guerra e dell'immediato dopoguerra: buona parte di essa lavorava nella burocrazia asburgica e seguì le peregrinazioni dei pubblici apparati in zone più sicure dell'Impero. Per coloro che rimasero a Trieste, la fine della guerra rappresentò un periodo di grave incertezza,

oltre che la fine del sistema in cui essi si erano, generalmente, identificati.

Per tutta la componente tedesca dell'Austria-Ungheria la dissoluzione dell'Impero fu un avvenimento epocale, che sanciva la fine irrecuperabile di un sistema sociale e di un *modus vivendi* ormai radicato da secoli. Il "finis Austriae" divenne noto come "die Katastrophe", avvenimento che lasciava gli austrotedeschi privi di reali riferimenti. Il suo impatto psicologico fu devastante: in tutta l'ex Austria-Ungheria vi fu un'ondata di suicidi mai registrata prima, migliaia di austriaci di lingua tedesca vennero cacciati dalle proprie abitazioni e a Vienna si riversò un numero enorme di profughi privi ormai di radici.

Il fenomeno si ripeté anche a Trieste: già le prime avvisaglie non furono fauste per i tedeschi rimasti nel Litorale. Le manifestazioni nazionaliste si accanirono con ferocia contro i simboli del passato regime e, anche se non vi furono vittime ma solo molestie e minacce contro i tedeschi di Trieste, la cosa non mancò di impressionare chi era rimasto.

Anche il già citato rifiuto da parte del Comitato di salute pubblica di ammettere al proprio interno i rappresentanti dei triestini di lingua tedesca non prometteva nulla di buono.

Con l'avvento del Governatorato – nonostante la personale integrità di Petitti di Roreto e il suo intervento dettato dal buon senso in numerosi casi personali – la politica delle nuove autorità fu quella di spingere quanto più possibile i tedeschi che ancora si trovavano in zona alla partenza. Vennero adottati provvedimenti tesi a rendere agevole la partenza e contemporaneamente a creare la sensazione in chi restava di essere un indesiderato. Vi furono diversi casi di denunce contro tedeschi che continuavano a parlare ai figli nella lingua materna e la proposta di sfrattarli oltre la linea di armistizio: a queste denunce, in verità, Petitti di Roreto, reagì con disgusto e mostrando disprezzo per i delatori (Apollonio, 2001, 103-104).

La maggior parte delle istituzioni della comunità tedesca svanì: le scuole pubbliche di lingua tedesca vennero chiuse e una parte di esse fu trasformata in caserme per le truppe italiane; nelle scuole italiane partì una crociata contro l'insegnamento della lingua tedesca e la sua sostituzione con l'inglese; lo Schillerverein, la società culturale tedesca operante fin dal 1860, venne chiuso e la sua sede fu occupata dal Comitato nazionale italiano; il quotidiano triestino in lingua tedesca *Triester Zeitung* sospese le pubblicazioni; i membri tedeschi del consiglio di amministrazione della Camera di Commercio (assieme a quelli greci e addirittura ad alcuni degli italiani locali) vennero sostituiti con membri italiani provenienti dal Regno; ai commercianti di lingua tedesca venne proibito l'ingresso in Borsa (*Tagespost*, 1918; Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 81, 147, 183).

A questo si aggiunse una campagna per l'epurazione

degli austriacanti, promossa dagli attivisti più accesi del partito liberalnazionale, con delazioni – spesso fatte per antiche inimicizie o per il proprio interesse personale – che generarono in città un clima da caccia alle streghe. Nelle aziende più grandi sorsero comitati di epurazione con lo scopo di raccogliere testimonianze al fine di sospendere o allontanare dal servizio i colpevoli di comportamento "non patriottico". Le liste di proscrizione furono particolarmente nutrite nell'amministrazione doganale, nella finanza e al Comune.

L'arbitrarietà e discrezionalità nei giudizi emessi da queste commissioni spinsero i socialisti a chiederne la sostituzione con tribunali legittimi. Petitti di Roreto sciolse le commissioni di epurazione nei primi mesi del '19 (Visintin, 2000, 29-30; Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 209-210; Apollonio, 2001, 89-93).

Il governatore si comportò in maniera piuttosto ambigua rispetto alle minoranze presenti della Venezia Giulia. Personalmente Petitti di Roreto sembrò agire guidato da un buon senso che lo spingeva ad evitare quanto più possibile misure drastiche nei confronti dei non italiani presenti sul territorio e uno scontro nazionale aperto. A questo riguardo sembra esemplare il fatto che uno dei primi documenti di Petitti nel suo ruolo di governatore fosse il proclama del novembre 1918 diretto alla popolazione slovena: *"Sloveni! L'Italia, Stato di grandi libertà, vi darà gli stessi diritti che gli altri cittadini! Vi darà le scuole nella Vostra lingua, più numerose di quanto ve ne ha date l'Austria! Sarà rispettata la vostra religione, poiché la religione cattolica è la religione di tutta l'Italia. Sloveni, siate certi che l'Italia grande e vittoriosa avrà cura di tutti i suoi cittadini senza distinzione della loro nazionalità!"*

Tuttavia, nonostante il suo buon senso e le personali intercessioni con cui agiva nei casi individuali, il Governatore dovette adeguarsi alle direttive del Comando supremo. Emanò provvedimenti tesi all'italianizzazione della pubblica amministrazione: in alcuni rapporti di novembre egli lamentava il fatto che gli uffici pubblici di Trieste avessero tra il proprio personale una forte prevalenza di non italiani. Per questo il 13 novembre dispose che *"i funzionari civili nella Venezia Giulia che desiderino essere mantenuti in carica per le mansioni proprie del loro ufficio e per quello che potranno essere loro assegnate nell'interesse dell'amministrazione, devono presentare domanda individuale in via gerarchica a questo r. Governatorato, indicando l'ufficio a cui il richiedente era addetto, il grado, le percezioni (...) Del pari devono presentare domanda direttamente al r. Governatorato, i pensionati dello Stato per la concessione, fino a nuove disposizioni, di un assegno in luogo della pensione goduta (...)"* (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol. 3, 126).

E' chiaro come un provvedimento del genere, oltre a dare l'assoluta discrezionalità alle nuove autorità per il mantenimento del posto di lavoro, tagliasse automati-

camente fuori coloro che, già appartenenti alla pubblica amministrazione, non si trovassero in quel periodo in città o ai quali ne fosse impedito il rientro.

Sulla base delle istruzioni del Comando supremo, andavano evitate quanto più possibile *"rimozioni di funzionari dagli uffici sinora coperti"*, ma si specificava *"sempre che favorevoli o presumibilmente convertibili alla nostra causa"* (Visintin, 2000, 49-50).

L'arbitrio delle nuove autorità sulle domande di ri-ammissione in servizio degli ex funzionari austro-ungarici fece sì che coloro che vennero "generosamente" riassunti nella pubblica amministrazione italiana si trovarono comunque declassati a precari (Apollonio, 2001, 106).

Nelle intenzioni delle nuove autorità italiane l'indesiderabilità dei non italiani si univa e spesso si confondeva con quella verso chi professava idee politicamente "sovversive". Vennero date disposizioni di favorire il rientro in Austria dei sudditi non appartenenti ai territori occupati, "per i quali si dubiti di una immigrazione recente ad arte disposta", e per "i sudditi politicamente temibili". Per coloro che non potevano essere espulsi andava predisposto l'internamento (Visintin, 2000, 50).

I tedeschi di Trieste, dunque, furono gravemente scossi dalla "katastrophe": venne registrato un incremento abnorme dei suicidi, e nel 1920 in città ve ne furono addirittura 118, con un picco mai toccato prima di 57 suicidi femminili, rimasti celebri anche per essere stati immortalati nell'opera di Carolus Cergoly (Luzzatto-Fegiz, 1929, 71-72). La comunità tedescofona, priva di istituzioni proprie, preclusa nella possibilità di tramandare la propria cultura (le scuole tedesche non riaprirono e l'edificio del ginnasio femminile tedesco fu adibito a scuola italiana) (Comitato Trieste '68, 1968, vol.3, 242) scelse in buona parte la via dell'esilio verso l'Austria e Vienna in particolare.

Secondo la vox populi cittadina fino ai primi mesi del 1919 partirono quasi 40.000 persone, ma risulta praticamente impossibile valutare la veridicità di questa affermazione e quantificare quante di esse appartenessero alla comunità austriaca, quante si fossero dirette esclusivamente in Austria e quanti, invece, in questa ondata migratoria, fossero coloro che invece si dirigevano verso altre destinazioni. Sembra tuttavia esemplare della sindrome di fuga che si impadronì della comunità tedescofona cittadina il fatto che, pochissimo tempo dopo la fine della guerra, su una classe del liceo femminile di quaranta studentesse, ne rimanesse a Trieste una sola.

I tedeschi di Trieste, dopo le partenze avvenute durante la guerra e quelle che si verificarono subito dopo il crollo dell'Impero, continuarono ad andarsene alla spicciolata per anni. Ancora nel 1921 e nel 1922 (i primi anni di cui esistono statistiche ufficiali italiane riguardanti i territori annessi) dalla Venezia Giulia emigrarono verso l'Austria e i paesi del bacino danubiano (Cecoslovacchia e Ungheria) rispettivamente 1.737 e

1.210 persone. Le statistiche non riportano la nazionalità dei partenti, ma vista l'anomalia della Venezia Giulia nel quadro statistico complessivo – l'area danubiana non era una delle favorite per l'emigrazione italiana – è presumibile che si trattasse in buona parte di tedeschi o di "austriacanti" (Purini, 2000a, 178).

Esemplare in questo quadro è la vicenda del futuro gerarca nazista Lotario Odilo Globocnik, nato a Trieste nel 1904 da una famiglia sloveno-tedesca. Il padre di Globocnik, funzionario nelle poste, resistette fino a quando la permanenza a Trieste divenne intollerabile e il suo posto di lavoro non venne affidato a personale italiano immigrato. Globocnik figlio, che aveva frequentato il liceo tedesco di Trieste fino alla sua chiusura, si trasferì a Klagenfurt con la famiglia nel 1923 (Fölkel, 1979, 72-74).

Negli anni '20 la comunità tedesca, la terza come consistenza numerica nella Trieste prebellica, si ridusse ad un gruppo che a stento raggiungeva la mille unità.

L'esodo scolastico

Un altro fenomeno che ridusse la popolazione non italiana dalla Venezia Giulia fu il forte esodo scolastico oltre confine da parte degli studenti sloveni e croati. Già durante la guerra le scuole del Goriziano avevano dovuto essere chiuse e gli studenti sloveni erano stati costretti a recarsi a Lubiana, quelli croati dell'Istria a Karlovac o Zagabria. La mancata riapertura a fine guerra di diverse scuole slovene nel Goriziano e in Istria costrinse gli studenti a iscriversi o continuare gli studi oltre confine (Apollonio, 2001, 97). Anche la chiusura delle scuole tedesche provocò disagi per la comunità slovena: secondo il Narodni Svet quasi un terzo dei studenti sloveni frequentava le scuole tedesche, in particolare il liceo, dal momento che l'Austria, per evitare attriti con gli irredentisti, non aveva mai concesso l'istituzione di scuole superiori slovene non tecniche a Trieste (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 92). La loro chiusura costrinse alla scelta tra gli istituti superiori italiani (dove, chiaramente, la presenza di studenti sloveni non era ben vista) e il trasferimento nelle scuole d'oltreconfine. E' chiaro che quella studentesca fu un'emigrazione sui generis: nel periodo non scolastico e durante le vacanze essi potevano tornare tranquillamente nella Venezia Giulia, e la aperta persecuzione degli studenti sloveni iniziò solo con l'avvento del fascismo. Tuttavia è pure evidente come la frequentazione delle scuole altrove (specie a Lubiana) iniziasse a far orientare l'intero sistema di relazioni sociali ed umane di questi studenti oltre confine: alla fine del ciclo scolastico la maggior parte di essi finivano inevitabilmente con il cercare un impiego in Slovenia, tanto più che in Italia un titolo di studio ottenuto in Jugoslavia non rappresentava assolutamente una buona credenziale nel mondo del lavoro.

Lo sciopero dei ferrovieri

Ma l'avvenimento che forse rese più palese, anche agli occhi dei contemporanei, la metamorfosi etnica che si stava consumando a Trieste e nella Venezia Giulia fu lo sciopero dei ferrovieri del febbraio 1919.

Come già si è visto la maggior parte dei ferrovieri triestini prima della guerra era di origine slovena, e continuò ad esserlo anche dopo, nonostante le defezioni del periodo bellico e degli ultimi mesi del '18 (si calcola che a metà gennaio 1919, 539 ferrovieri sloveni avessero già scelto di trasferirsi nel Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni).

Il primo febbraio, in seguito ad una vertenza sindacale, i ferrovieri del compartimento di Trieste (in cui erano confluiti anche quelli della Südbahn, ormai statalizzata), avevano proclamato a gran maggioranza lo sciopero ad oltranza, bloccando completamente tutti i treni da e per Trieste. Si trattava di una prova di forza estremamente grave e rischiosa: la legislazione italiana in materia di scioperi era molto dura, ed inoltre la Venezia Giulia era sottoposta a regime d'occupazione. Le autorità ritennero che lo sciopero fosse manovrato dai nazionalisti jugoslavi di Lubiana con lo scopo di destabilizzare la situazione sociale dell'intera regione. La reazione del Governatore fu durissima: i ferrovieri che avevano interrotto il servizio vennero arrestati e processati per direttissima e condannati a pene da due a cinque anni; agli altri scioperanti fu dato un ultimatum di 48 ore per ritornare al lavoro, pena il licenziamento. 1.500 ferrovieri non sottostarono all'intimazione di Petitti e vennero considerati dimissionari. Come già si è segnalato sopra, il governatore non era personalmente un antisloveno, tuttavia era un militare e uomo d'ordine: non esitò quindi a prendere decisioni drastiche nei confronti di uno sciopero che minacciava l'ordine pubblico, anche se questi provvedimenti andavano a colpire in maniera pesantissima la minoranza slovena di Trieste.

L'improvviso licenziamento in massa mise in gravi difficoltà l'intero sistema ferroviario della zona, tanto che – su pressioni del ministero – Petitti di Roreto dovette concedere la riammissione al lavoro di chi lo avesse richiesto, ma solo dopo una approfondita indagine da parte dei carabinieri sui trascorsi e sulle modalità di partecipazione allo sciopero. In ogni caso la riassunzione avveniva con la qualifica di precario.

A maggio erano più di novecento i ferrovieri che, in conseguenza al licenziamento collettivo, si erano trasferiti oltre la linea armistiziale e il mese successivo le pratiche di riassunzione giacevano ancora inevase per 200 lavoratori. Altri, riammessi al lavoro, non vi avevano fatto ritorno. I ferrovieri allontanatisi da Trieste fecero in maggioranza domanda per l'assunzione in servizio nelle ferrovie jugoslave. Ne danno testimonianza le numerose lettere di profughi dalla Venezia Giulia che segnalano alla Pisarna za zasedeno ozemlje il proprio trasferi-

mento in località poste sulle maggiori linee di traffico jugoslave quali Novo Mesto, Kočevje, Kranj, Brežice, Krško, Radovljica, Zagabria e soprattutto sul percorso della Südbahn: Rakek, Litija, Sveti Jurij e Lubiana (INV, PZO, f. 38, d. 425; ARS, PZO, F.1, b.).

Grazie allo sciopero e ai conseguenti licenziamenti, il Governatorato – probabilmente al di là della volontà di Petitti, ma secondo quelli che erano gli obiettivi del governo – ottenne il ribaltamento etnico all'interno delle ferrovie e diede luogo al primo episodio pianificato di omogeneizzazione nazionale del territorio. L'espulsione dei ferrovieri può essere considerata il primo momento della politica di "bonifica etnica" ai danni della popolazione slava della Venezia Giulia, poi sistematizzata durante il fascismo. L'emigrazione dei ferrovieri portò allo spopolamento della zona attigua alla stazione: il censimento del 1921 documenta una vistosa diminuzione degli abitanti del rione di Greta, dove, assieme a quello di Roiano, si concentrava la presenza degli addetti alle ferrovie. Secondo lo storico sloveno Dušan Nečak, nell'agosto del '19 i ferrovieri sloveni erano quasi tutti emigrati e l'ente risultava ormai italianizzato (Apollonio, 2001, 98-109; Nečak, 1972, 159).

La vicenda dei ferrovieri colpì in maniera pesante l'opinione pubblica cittadina, specialmente la comunità slovena: sembra piuttosto significativo che oltre due anni dopo questi avvenimenti, nell'agosto del 1921, la prima interrogazione parlamentare dell'onorevole Virgil Šček – deputato sloveno al parlamento di Roma per la XXVI legislatura – riguardasse proprio la carenza di personale ferroviario nativo della Venezia Giulia e la sua sostituzione con personale italiano nato in altre province. All'interpellanza di Šček il sottosegretario Lombardi rispondeva affermando che: *"Il numero degli avventizi assunti sulle linee della Venezia Giulia dopo il 3 novembre 1918, ammonta a circa 5.100 di cui 2.920 pertinenti alla Venezia Giulia. Nel procedimento seguito per le assunzioni del personale, è stata e sarà sempre data la precedenza alle domande di aspiranti della regione; però parecchi degli aspiranti stessi, invitati a presentarsi per essere assunti, o non si sono più curati di rispondere all'invito o dopo poco tempo dalla loro assunzione, si sono licenziati e talvolta hanno anche abbandonato il servizio senza alcun preavviso"* (Tavčar, 1994, 49).

La risposta di Lombardi all'interrogazione di Šček appare volutamente evasiva e poco precisa: pertinente non significa nativo, e dunque il personale avventizio poteva essere composto anche da personale immigrato nelle nuove province subito dopo la guerra. Il fatto, inoltre, che in soli tre anni ben 2.180 persone provenienti dal resto d'Italia fosse stato assunto nel compartimento ferroviario della Venezia Giulia rivela indubbiamente un piano per l'italianizzazione di quell'ente.

Gli internamenti

Anche gli internamenti furono fondamentali nel ridurre la presenza dei non italiani nella Venezia Giulia.

Come già si è visto misure di internamento erano state predisposte per gli ex militari austro-ungarici, per i reduci politicamente inaffidabili e al confino erano stati mantenuti pure quei fuoriusciti che, fuggiti dall'Austria per evitare la guerra, dopo il 1915 non avevano voluto indossare la divisa italiana. A molti di questi, come già scritto precedentemente, fu impedito il rientro anche dopo la fine della guerra.

A questi, tuttavia, si aggiunsero altri che vennero identificati dalle autorità come personalità pericolose per l'ordine pubblico nel territorio occupato.

Ne fecero le spese militanti socialisti e presunti bolscevichi, ma in maggioranza intellettuali e persone di spicco delle comunità slovena e croata.

Tra gli internati dell'intelligenza slovena e croata si contarono trentasei insegnanti, trentacinque sacerdoti (tra i quali il vescovo di Veglia, Anton Mahnič), quarantacinque impiegati statali, avvocati, giudici, medici, notai. Vi furono pure nove casi di internamento di maestre elementari. I luoghi di internamento furono villaggi della Sardegna, la fortezza di Verona, la già nota Gardolo presso Trento e le carceri di San Marco a Venezia per le maestre elementari (Čermelj, 1974, 260-261). Più tardi le autorità limitarono l'afflusso degli internati in Sardegna, in quanto coloro che osteggiavano le aspirazioni italiane non erano più graditi nell'isola, iniziando invece l'internamento nell'isola di Ventotene, divenuta negli anni a seguire triste luogo di confino per molti antifascisti italiani. Dopo la metà del 1919, ad alcuni fu concessa la scelta del luogo dove trascorrere l'internamento (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 113).

Le cifre sul numero degli internati sono estremamente controverse pure all'interno della stessa storiografia slovena e croata: Čermelj afferma che gli internamenti di appartenenti alle due comunità furono circa mille, cifra confermata anche da Novak e Zwitter (i quali, però, potrebbero essersi basati sulle ipotesi fatte dallo stesso Čermelj). Un memoriale di Wilfan del 20 settembre 1919 riporta un elenco di 245 sloveni e croati internati, mentre Milica Kacin-Wohinz, massima esperta slovena delle vicende del Litorale nel periodo tra le due guerre, afferma che le liste di internati predisposte dal commissario civile per la Venezia Giulia testimoniano 160 persone che subirono questo provvedimento. Tali liste, tuttavia, non coprono il periodo dal novembre 1918 alla fine del 1919, per cui la storica slovena ipotizza un numero complessivo di 500 internati, provenienti dall'Istria e dalle province di Trieste e Gorizia (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 115; Apollonio, 2001, 195, 222-223; Čermelj, 1974, 269; Novak, Zwitter, 1945, 389).

L'internamento come misura sistematica di controllo di coloro che non erano chiaramente schierati a favore

dell'annessione all'Italia (ed in particolare nei confronti degli ex militari austro-ungarici) ebbe fine nel marzo del 1920, più che altro per gli alti costi di gestione dell'internamento a carico delle amministrazioni locali dove l'internato trascosseva il periodo di confino. La misura venne presa attraverso una sanatoria generale. Tuttavia al loro ritorno, ancora una volta, alcuni ex internati furono nuovamente incarcerati nel castello di San Giusto (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 115-116; Apollonio, 2001, 195, 220).

A prescindere da quale sia stato effettivamente il numero degli internati, la misura rappresentò certamente un incentivo alla partenza sia per coloro che si sentivano potenziali vittime di futuri procedimenti analoghi, sia per coloro che dopo aver passato questa traumatica esperienza temevano di ripeterla in futuro. Nella società giuliana, inoltre, l'ex internato era visto come un sovversivo o, quantomeno, una persona che si poneva al di fuori di quel nuovo ordine nazionale e sociale che le autorità italiane stavano instaurando, e questo sicuramente non rendeva facile la vita di coloro che avevano subito il confino.

L'emigrazione slovena e croata

In molti casi, dunque, gli ex internati scelsero l'emigrazione, unendosi a coloro che si erano già rifugiati oltre confine, aumentando il depauperamento dell'élite intellettuale slovena e croata rimaste in Italia. Molti degli appartenenti all'intelligenza slovena e croata, infatti, si erano trasferiti in Jugoslavia già nei primi giorni dell'occupazione italiana, oppure, trascorso in Carniola o in Croazia il periodo bellico, vi erano rimasti anche dopo la fine del conflitto. Tra questi anche alcuni deputati al parlamento austriaco come Otokar Rybař (il quale, tuttavia, operò un'incessante spola tra Lubiana e Parigi dove si teneva la conferenza di pace) e Vjekoslav Spinčić, il quale, divenuto poi deputato al parlamento di Belgrado, sostenne una strenua battaglia personale, poi vinta, affinché il territorio di Castua, la cui assegnazione non era ancora stata definita, passasse sotto la sovranità jugoslava.

Nel marzo del 1919 gli emigrati dalla Venezia Giulia in Jugoslavia oscillavano già dalle 30 alle 40.000 unità (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 217). In molti casi i rifugiati trovarono asilo presso parenti e amici nelle maggiori città slovene (nella sola Lubiana erano presenti quasi 5.000 profughi, segnalando solo coloro che avevano denunciato la propria presenza nella capitale slovena alle organizzazioni di aiuto ai profughi), o più spesso erano sistemati provvisoriamente nei campi profughi della Slovenia: un documento della Pisarna za zasedeno ozemlje testimonia la presenza di 15.071 persone provenienti dal Litorale nel periodo tra settembre e novembre 1919, di cui ben 3.200 nel campo di Strnišče presso Ptuj (ARS, PZO, F.1, b.).

L'immigrazione dall'Italia

Le ampie "falle" nella popolazione locale prodotte dalla partenza delle componenti non italiane furono presto riempite dalla nuova immigrazione italiana, composta sia dagli ex regnicoli che ritornavano al loro luogo di residenza d'anteguerra, sia da persone provenienti dal Regno.

Fu in particolare il settore del pubblico impiego a rappresentare uno dei poli d'attrazione per l'immigrazione a Trieste. Come si è già visto, nel periodo asburgico la pubblica amministrazione era stata prevalentemente appannaggio della popolazione non italiana.

Dopo la guerra i posti pubblici lasciati vacanti da coloro che avevano abbandonato la Venezia Giulia o non erano stati confermati nell'incarico furono destinati a personale locale di sicura fede irredentista oppure a nuovi immigrati provenienti dalle "vecchie province". Novecentottanta ufficiali irredenti, spesso privi di alcuna competenza a riguardo, vennero assorbiti dal Governatorato e da altri uffici sparsi nella Venezia Giulia. Molti di questi erano accesi nazionalisti ed erano animati da un profondo pregiudizio antislabo. La loro influenza finì con l'essere determinante nella conduzione degli uffici a loro affidati, determinando l'aggravamento in senso sciovinista e xenofobo della politica delle nuove autorità (Apollonio, 2001, 50).

Con le truppe di occupazione giunsero in zona migliaia di militari, poliziotti, carabinieri e finanzieri. Il presidio militare e gli appartenenti alla marina di stanza a Trieste raddoppiarono: laddove prima della guerra il personale militare austriaco presente in città raramente aveva superato le 4.000 unità, nel 1921 (dati del censimento) erano presenti 9.784 militari, numero destinato ad aumentare nel corso degli anni.

Secondo la storiografia jugoslava l'occupazione del Litorale e l'immissione di migliaia di militari nelle nuove province assunse, nei numeri e nella condotta dei comandi, un carattere semicoloniale. In tutta la Venezia Giulia furono inviati 47.000 persone tra militari, poliziotti e polizia penitenziaria. La militarizzazione del territorio è particolarmente evidente se confrontata con la situazione prebellica: prima del conflitto l'Austria manteneva di stanza nel Litorale solamente 25.000 soldati, di cui 17.000 concentrati a Pola (Novak, Zwitter, 1945, 136-140).

Il personale militare e delle forze dell'ordine era appositamente reclutato nel meridione italiano, in parte per la tradizionale via di fuga dalla miseria del sud rurale che l'arruolamento offriva, in parte perché era auspicabile che la zona venisse normalizzata (e italianizzata) mediante personale quanto più lontano dalle vicende storiche e alla mentalità dei territori appena conquistati. Il dialetto triestino porta ancora evidente il ricordo di questa immissione di forze dell'ordine provenienti dal sud: il termine dialettale *pulio* (poliziotto) ha

una certa affinità sonora con la parola italiana, ma il significato etimologico sembra essere piuttosto "pugliese", "persona proveniente dalla Puglia".

Nel 1921 il numero complessivo dei nuovi immigrati (escluso il personale militare) nella Venezia Giulia era di circa 40.000 persone, di cui 25.500 residenti in città prima della guerra (regnicoli). Gli arrivi in città continuarono senza sosta dal 1918 al 1922. L'immigrazione aveva diverse motivazioni: la fama di ricchezza di cui Trieste godeva nell'immaginario collettivo italiano, gli inviti che i nuovi immigrati inoltravano ai parenti affinché si stabilissero nelle nuove province, l'effettiva migliore qualità della vita che Trieste, pur nella grave situazione in cui la città si trovava, offriva rispetto al contesto rurale di molte zone dell'Italia.

Il fenomeno immigratorio tuttavia si dimostrò difficile da gestire per le nuove autorità: l'immagine che della città si aveva nel resto d'Italia non corrispondeva alla reale capacità economica di Trieste. La guerra aveva gravemente provato la città; l'inevitabile nuovo orientamento geoeconomico, la chiusura del mercato centroeuropeo ed in seguito l'imposizione di tariffe daziarie con quello che fino alla prima della guerra era stato il naturale sbocco dei traffici triestini limitarono la capacità di assorbimento di manodopera da parte del porto adriatico. La disoccupazione aumentò e fu evidente che Trieste non era in grado di offrire posti di lavoro a tutti coloro che vi arrivavano. Nel 1921 le autorità dovettero imporre misure di rientro alla crescente immigrazione in città, tanto che dall'inizio di quell'anno alla metà del 1922 furono respinte ai luoghi di partenza ben 10.651 persone (Kacin-Wohinz, 1972, 126-127). Secondo Elio Apih, il quale si basa sulla lettura dei dati del censimento 1921 fatta da Claudio Schiffrer, i nuovi abitanti di Trieste provenienti dal Regno non superarono l'8% della popolazione complessiva. Lo storico triestino riconosce tuttavia che l'apporto dei nuovi immigrati segnò un cambiamento notevole nella struttura sociale della città (Apih, 1988, 107).

L'italianizzazione di cognomi e toponimi

L'italianizzazione della popolazione cittadina fu ancor più evidente per un altro fenomeno che cominciò a verificarsi dal marzo del 1919, aumentando via via nel corso degli anni fino a diventare una vera e propria ossessione durante il periodo fascista: la "riduzione" dei cognomi di origine straniera in forma italiana e il cambiamento della toponomastica.

Al momento dell'entrata delle truppe italiane in città si calcola che i cognomi non italiani rappresentassero circa i due terzi della popolazione residente. I cognomi "allogeni" erano piuttosto eterogenei: cognomi slavi scritti in grafia slovena o croata (il caso più diffuso è il suffisso rispettivamente in *-ič* o *-ić*), cognomi di origine slava scritti con la grafia veneta (sempre per riportare lo

stesso esempio: *-ich*), o in grafia tedesca (*-ig*), cognomi tedeschi, cognomi ebraici, ungheresi, ladini (friulani), greci e di altre origini europee.

Secondo la teoria italiana (che venne a definirsi sempre più chiaramente nel corso degli anni fino agli anni del fascismo in cui il cambiamento dei cognomi fu sistematico), si trattava di cognomi di origine italiana che si erano imbastarditi nel corso dei secoli, soprattutto ad opera del clero slavo che ne aveva slavizzato la grafia nei registri parrocchiali. Il cambio dei cognomi, dunque, non andava inteso come un provvedimento di creazione ex novo di un cognome italiano, bensì come *restituzione* del cognome alla sua forma italiana storicamente corretta. La "restituzione", tuttavia, riguardò per buona parte anche persone che avevano origini assolutamente estranee all'Italia, nati, originari o provenienti dalla Carniola, dall'entroterra croato, dalla Serbia, dalla Boemia, dalla Moravia. La "restituzione dei cognomi alla forma italiana" fu dunque un termine scientifico e "pulito" dietro al quale si nascondeva tout court l'italianizzazione, spesso forzata, della popolazione. Il paradosso fu evidente per i numerosi casi di trascrizione in forme diverse dello stesso cognome, "ridotto" in tal modo per assonanza (Cociancich in Coceani, Coscianni, Cosciani, Canciani, Canziani, Cociani). In altri casi si procedette ad un'italianizzazione del cognome traducendo il significato letterale del cognome (Podgornik=Piemontese, Vodopivec=Bevilacqua). L'italianizzazione per traduzione fu estremamente frequente nei cognomi di origine tedesca: Hönig=Miele, Melato; Schwarz=Neri). Spesso, dopo l'italianizzazione, membri della stessa famiglia si trovarono ad avere cognomi diversi (un caso per tutti: quattro fratelli Covacich divennero rispettivamente Covacci, Covelli, Fabbri e Fabbri).

Nel 1919, tuttavia, le richieste furono relativamente ancora poche: dal 1 febbraio alla fine dell'anno furono poco più di 300 i richiedenti, perlopiù irredentisti che legittimavano così la propria italianità. E' paradossale che il primo triestino a richiedere la "riduzione" del cognome in forma italiana prefigurò l'assoluta arbitrarietà che la stessa avrebbe avuto nel corso degli anni a seguire: si tratta di Menotti Oblak (in sloveno: nuvola), che italianizzò il proprio cognome in Menotti Belgrano, cognome che con l'originario non aveva nulla a che vedere.

Nel 1920 e nel 1921 l'italianizzazione continuò ad essere un fenomeno limitato (le richieste di riduzione furono più o meno lo stesso numero del 1919), ma via via la richiesta iniziò ad essere dettata non più da reale sentimento patriottico, bensì da convenienza: sempre più (ed in particolare dall'avvento del fascismo in poi) chi aveva un cognome non italiano rischiava pressioni ed intimidazioni di vario genere: economiche, lavorative e fisiche. Nel 1928 vennero addirittura minacciati di licenziamento i lavoratori statali che non avessero provveduto a rendere il proprio cognome italiano.

Vennero fatte alcune eccezioni per alcuni maggiori della politica e dell'economia. Costoro, pur avendo un cognome di origine chiaramente slava – quali i Suvich e i Cosulich – vennero esentati dal cambio di cognome in quanto (secondo una sentenza del Consiglio di Stato) "le persone di chiari sentimenti italiani potevano portare ulteriormente i cognomi slavi ereditate dagli antenati" (Čermelj, 1974, 148-150).

Secondo le stime di Paolo Parovel, l'italianizzazione riguardò, in tutta la Venezia Giulia dal 1919 al 1945, circa 500.000 persone. Nella sola Trieste furono "italianizzate" circa 100.000 persone.

L'italianizzazione, tuttavia, non si fermò ai cognomi: le autorità italiane provvidero fin dal momento dell'annessione della Venezia Giulia a dare una forma italiana a tutti i toponimi dei nuovi territori, anche qui basandosi sull'assonanza con il nome sloveno o croato della località. Opčine (che addirittura nel dialetto triestino era denominata alla slovena ôpcina) divenne Opicina, Basòvica divenne Basovizza, Boljunc fu trasformato in Bagnoli. Altre italianizzazioni cozzarono contro l'abitudine linguistica: un primo tentativo di rinominare la slovena Sežana in Cesiano fu abbandonato: anche nell'uso italiano il paese manteneva lo stesso nome, per cui ci si limitò a modificarne la grafia in Sesana. In altri casi l'italianizzazione fu attuata basandosi sul recupero di nomi della tradizione storica antica (Nabrežina divenne Aurisina dal nome delle cave di marmo conosciute già in età classica). Il più delle volte, tuttavia, per giustificare il cambio della denominazione di un paese vennero riciclate tradizioni oscure e semisconosciute: Dolina, segnalata in alcuni documenti tedeschi del '300 come Sankt Ulderich, divenne San Dorligo della Valle; per Ricmanje e Boršt, sempre basandosi su assurde testimonianze risalenti a molti secoli prima, si inventarono i nuovi nomi di San Giuseppe della Chiusa e Sant'Antonio in Bosco. Altre volte ancora l'italianizzazione fu attuata traducendo letteralmente il toponimo slavo (il monte Snežnik divenne Nevoso). La traduzione italiana, però, non era sempre corretta, in alcuni casi vennero fatti grossolani errori: il monte Krn divenne monte Nero, in quanto i traduttori confusero il termine sloveno krn-mozzo, tronco, con črn-nero; analogo errore venne fatto con il monte Peč, tradotto come monte Forno, laddove in sloveno peč significa pure roccia.

In periodo fascista l'italianizzazione venne completata con l'ultimo – e più grave – provvedimento: la riduzione in forma italiana dei nomi di battesimo. Dal 1923, in seguito ad una campagna di stampa de "Il Piccolo", il giornale di Trieste, e del Comune di Trieste attraverso il proprio ufficio anagrafe, venne proibita l'imposizione di nomi non italiani ai neonati, e si procedette pure all'italianizzazione d'ufficio dei nomi "allogeni" già registrati. Mentre l'italianizzazione dei cognomi, dunque, colpiva le origini di una famiglia nel tentativo di cancellarne le radici storiche slave o tedesche per costruir-

ne di nuove, italiane, l'italianizzazione dei nomi negava la cultura stessa dei non italiani, essendo evidente che solo chi era di madrelingua non italiana poteva dare dei nomi "stranieri" ai figli. Impedendo di imporre dei nomi non italiani ai figli veniva dunque negata l'esistenza stessa nella Venezia Giulia di famiglie e comunità non italiane (Parovel, 1985; Čermelj, 1974, 139-154).

Il Commissariato civile e gli inizi delle violenze squadriste

Nel luglio del 1919 il governo Nitti procedette alla sostituzione dell'amministrazione militare di Petitti, chiaramente provvisoria, con organi civili, attraverso la creazione dell'Ufficio centrale per le nuove province alle cui dipendenze erano istituiti due commissariati generali civili, uno per il Trentino ed uno per la Venezia Giulia.

La partenza di una figura decisa ed autorevole come quella di Petitti di Roreto e la sua sostituzione con il Commissario generale Augusto Ciuffelli, parlamentare completamente preso dal gioco politico dei palazzi romani e dunque poco interessato al suo nuovo incarico, nonché la poca chiarezza nelle reali prerogative del Commissariato e l'inevitabile confusione nel momento del passaggio tra le due forme istituzionali, diedero ai nazionalisti la possibilità di agire e di compiere la prima vera azione di forza contro quelle che erano identificate come le due forze antinazionali per eccellenza: i socialisti e gli sloveni.

Il 4 agosto, esattamente il giorno del passaggio dei poteri tra Petitti e Ciuffelli, una manifestazione di protesta socialista per un arresto operato dai carabinieri fu attaccata da militari e controdimostranti nazionalisti, degenerando in scontri che portarono all'uccisione di un militare e di un giovane nazionalista. La reazione dei manifestanti nazionalisti (frammisti a esponenti delle forze dell'ordine) fu diretta contro i simboli del movimento socialista e delle organizzazioni slovene: vennero assaltate e devastate la sede del partito socialista, del giornale "Edinost" e la scuola magistrale slovena, dove avevano sede le biblioteche del Krožek za družbena vprašanja e del Ljudski Oder. I manifestanti riuscirono a penetrare anche nell'Hotel Balkan, l'edificio che era il cuore delle attività delle minoranze slovena e croata, noto anche come Narodni Dom (Casa del popolo), riuscendo a raggiungere la biblioteca e distruggendo alcuni libri e riviste, ma l'intervento dei militari della vicina caserma riuscì a bloccare l'azione dei nazionalisti.

Nel corso della giornata vennero operati più di 400 arresti tra i socialisti che avevano partecipato alla manifestazione iniziale, mentre i nazionalisti e i militari che avevano devastato gli edifici socialisti e sloveni godettero della più assoluta impunità.

Il commissario Ciuffelli, insediato nel suo nuovo incarico proprio il 4 agosto, dimostrò apertamente di non essere in grado di gestire la situazione: accampan-

do la scusa del suo recentissimo arrivo a Trieste, non seppe o non volle agire, limitandosi a condurre un'inchiesta di pura facciata sull'accaduto (Apollonio, 2001, 158-166; Čermelj, 1974, 115, 228-229).

Gli scontri del 4 agosto rappresentarono una novità nella gestione del territorio da parte delle autorità italiane. In precedenza, infatti, le violenze erano state limitate e la "normalizzazione" ed italianizzazione del territorio era passata prevalentemente attraverso metodi legali. Si è visto come il governatorato militare avesse impedito il ritorno di pertinenti al territorio non italiani o li avesse spinti a partire creando delle condizioni di difficoltà per gli "allogliotti", specie in ambito lavorativo, e come avesse attuato iniezioni di nuova popolazione italiana nella Venezia Giulia. Tuttavia la legalità era stata di fatto mantenuta e in linea di massima era stata data ai non italiani la possibilità di rimanere, pur in mezzo a molte difficoltà burocratico-amministrative. L'emigrazione degli anni '18-'19 fu dettata da una sindrome di emulazione nei confronti di chi partiva piuttosto che dalla reale impossibilità fisica di restare: molti dei non italiani vedevano emigrare parenti e amici, e questo provocava una reazione a catena di ulteriori emigrazioni.

Con gli scontri di agosto, invece, la violenza divenne componente essenziale della normalizzazione del territorio: i non italiani presenti cominciarono a temere per la propria incolumità fisica e le squadre – inquadrare ben presto nel Fascio di combattimento – vennero benevolmente tollerate dalle autorità, godendo di una quasi totale impunità.

Gli incidenti del 4 agosto misero in luce il fatto che l'italianizzazione del territorio iniziava ad essere pianificata attraverso l'attacco anche fisico ai simboli della cultura slovena e dell'opposizione politica e con un forte rischio individuale per chi si proclamasse o fosse bollato come "anti-italiano". Le violenze e gli attacchi contro le organizzazioni slovene e della sinistra si susseguirono a ritmo sempre più serrato, fino a giungere all'incendio dell'Hotel Balkan il 13 luglio del 1920.

Gli squadristi ebbero sempre più la consapevolezza che le loro azioni incontravano non solo l'indulgenza delle autorità, ma erano strumentali ai fini di questa. Di fronte all'opinione pubblica italiana, inoltre, gli squadristi potevano presentarsi come i difensori dell'italianità dallo "slavo", come i guardiani dei "sacri confini della patria" contro la "barbarie".

E' chiaro come in un'atmosfera del genere, la spinta all'emigrazione per coloro che percepivano di essere indesiderati aumentasse. Significativi sono i dati del censimento del 1921, nel quale la popolazione slava della Venezia Giulia scese a 349.206 unità, contro le 466.730 di quello del 1911, mentre quella italiana salì da 354.908 a 467.308 (Novak, Zwitter, 1945, 152, 161). Si trattasse dell'emigrazione e immigrazione o del risultato delle intimidazioni che spinsero i censiti a dare un'altra appartenenza rispetto a quella del censimento

austriaco, è evidente come l'intero territorio fosse già oggetto di una pesante opera di snazionalizzazione.

L'ascesa del fascismo portò ad una definitiva saldatura tra potere politico e squadristi: molti di coloro che avevano fornito la manodopera nel "lavoro sporco" delle squadre, assunsero ad incarichi pubblici e divennero maggiorenti locali del partito. I provvedimenti delle autorità tesi ad omogeneizzare in senso italiano il territorio non furono più ipocriti e velati, ma si cominciò ad ostentare con orgoglio i risultati di quella che, nel gergo del partito veniva definita la "bonifica etnica". Un termine pressoché identico a quello usato in anni più recenti: "pulizia etnica".

CONCLUSIONE

Gli anni presi in considerazione da questo studio si pongono, dunque, come un forte e decisivo momento di frattura nel trend demografico e migratorio di Trieste e della Venezia Giulia. La vertiginosa ascesa prebellica venne ad interrompersi negli anni del conflitto, segnando un crollo della popolazione residente, per poi riprendere ma con valori molto meno significativi.

I movimenti della popolazione furono legati, durante la prima guerra mondiale, in parte allo spontaneo fenomeno di allontanamento da zone ritenute troppo vicino al fronte, in parte a provvedimenti di evacuazione e/o di trasferimento di persone e iniziative economiche volute dal governo austriaco. Anche le misure che penalizzarono la popolazione italiana durante il conflitto furono dettate dalle esigenze belliche e dalla normale condotta di un paese in guerra contro i cittadini di un paese nemico piuttosto che dal tentativo di rendere minoritaria la componente italiana residente. Che vi fossero stati dei provvedimenti – anche di tipo migratorio – tesi a contrastare e indebolire l'irredentismo italiano è indubbio, tuttavia mai l'Austria adottò provvedimenti e misure che

intendessero portare ad una "pulizia etnica" contro gli italiani del Litorale.

Viceversa la politica di "bonifica etnica" nei confronti delle popolazioni slovene, croate e tedesche sembra essere stata presente da parte italiana fin dal momento della caduta dell'Austria, seppur in maniera velata e non ben pianificata.

Già i provvedimenti del Comitato di salute pubblica illustrano una scarsa tolleranza nei confronti delle minoranze, specialmente quella tedesca. La nuova amministrazione italiana, poi, sembrò spingere fin da subito verso un'italianizzazione del territorio, sia attraverso provvedimenti di allontanamento degli allogliotti, sia attraverso l'impedimento al ritorno di coloro che avevano trascorso altrove il periodo bellico, sia attraverso l'immissione di nuovi immigrati provenienti dall'interno del Regno, sia attraverso le misure di assimilazione degli sloveni e croati presenti sul territorio. Risulta pressoché impossibile cogliere quanto siano stati spontanei questi processi e quanto invece l'italianizzazione sia stata forzata dalle autorità, ma è chiaro che il fenomeno era già in corso ben prima della presa di potere del fascismo.

Scriveva Carlo Schiffrer: "Nel 1921 la repressione fascista, soltanto incipiente, non aveva costretto all'emigrazione la parte più attiva degli intellettuali sloveni e croati, i loro maestri, ecc..." (Schiffrer, 1990, 20): si tratta di una posizione che a lungo è stata ritenuta inoppugnabile da parte della storiografia italiana. Gli eventi raccolti in questo saggio, invece, dimostrano come, seppur in maniera decisamente più disordinata e con una scarsa organicità nei provvedimenti, la nuova amministrazione italiana avesse puntato fin da subito ad assicurarsi il dominio sul nuovo territorio proprio attraverso l'eliminazione di quelle componenti che – ai suoi occhi – potevano rappresentare un futuro pericolo per l'appartenenza italiana delle "terre redente".

ETNIČNE PREOBRAZBE TRSTA V OBDOBJU 1914-1919

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POVZETEK

Študija obravnava migracijska gibanja, ki zadevajo Julijsko krajino nasploh, predvsem pa Trst, s posebnim poudarkom na obdobju 1914-1919. Po kratkem pregledu etnično-demografske situacije na podlagi ljudskega štetja iz leta 1910 je v članku razčlenjen upad tržaškega prebivalstva med prvo svetovno vojno zaradi vpoklica v vojsko, prostovoljnih ali prisilnih izselitev italijanskih državljanov (t.i. 'regnicoli'), zaradi izgnancev, ki so zbežali na tuje, da bi se izognili naboru, 'mehkega izgnanstva' visoke buržoazije, selitve javnih uslužbencev v druge dele avstrijske monarhije. V svojem delu avtor upošteva tudi usodo beguncev z območij vojaških operacij ob Soči, ki so jih izselili v notranjost Avstro-ogrske ali v Kraljevino Italijo.

Študija se na kratko dotakne tudi dogodkov, ki so sledili razpadu dvojne monarhije: ustanovitve Komiteja za javno oskrbo, ki je upravljala mesto do prihoda italijanskih čet, in – novembra 1918 – zgrinjanje v mesto na deset tisoče vojakov: pogrešancev s fronte, osvobojenih italijanskih ujetnikov, dezerterjev, vojakov, ki so se skušali vrniti na svoje domove. Zatem razčlenjuje italijanske ukrepe, s katerimi so oblasti začele s postopno etnično homogenizacijo območja v duhu italijanstva. To so uresničile na različne načine: z vračanjem državljanov Kraljevine Italije na Tržaško in z novimi priseljenci, prav tako iz kraljevine, ki so se povečini zaposlili v javni upravi in policiji; z ustvarjanjem najrazličnejših ovir za neitalijanske povratnike in brezdomce s tega območja, ki so se želeli vrniti; z ukrepi proti "avstrijakantom", boljševikom in filojugoslovanom, ki so jih v mnogih primerih celo zaprli.

Zaradi strahu pred morebitnim filojugoslovanstvom slovenskega in hrvaškega prebivalstva v Julijski krajini in v želji, da bi utrdile vladavino na novih območjih, so italijanske oblasti sprejele vrsto ukrepov proti "tujerodnim" prebivalcem na tem območju: iz mesta je skoraj povsem izginila skupnost nemškega jezika, večji del slovenske in hrvaške inteligence na tem območju (predvsem učitelji in duhovniki) je končal v internaciji, mnogi razumniki so se morali izseliti, predvsem v Jugoslavijo, prisotnost "tujejezičnih" prebivalcev na področjih, kjer so bili pred vojno v večini (železničarji, delavci v javnih službah), pa so nasilno predimenzionirali. Začeli so tudi načrtovati ukrepe, s katerimi naj bi vzpodbudili poitalijančenje vseh, ki so še ostali, vključno s spreminjanjem priimkov in toponimov.

Ključne besede: migracijska gibanja, izseljevanje, priseljevanje, Trst, Julijska krajina, prva svetovna vojna, 1919

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COLLABORATION BETWEEN SLOVENES FROM THE PRIMORSKA REGION, THE SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE AND THE INTER-SERVICES LIAISON DEPARTMENT AFTER THE OCCUPATION OF YUGOSLAVIA (6 APRIL 1941)

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ABSTRACT

The contribution presents the main activities by Slovenes from the Primorska region, who during World War II collaborated with British secret and intelligence services, the Special Operations Executive (SOE) and the Inter-Services Liaison Department (ISLD).

The author initially describes British secret and intelligence services during the war and the archive sources, with a special emphasis on the role of SOE and ISLD in Yugoslavia. There follows a description of the Slovenes from the Primorska region (Dr. Ivan Marija Čok and Prof. Ivan Rudolf), who began to collaborate with the British before the war in their fight against Fascism and Nazism. In the end, the contribution presents their wartime collaboration with the SOE and the ISLD to re-establish contacts, to gather relevant information about the occupied Yugoslavia, and to prepare as well as to implement some special operations-missions by British secret and intelligence services.

Key words: SOE, ISLD, military missions, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Second World War, Ivan Rudolf, Ivan Marija Čok, TIGR

LA COLLABORAZIONE DEGLI SLOVENI DEL LITORALE CON LA SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE E L'INTER-SERVICES LIAISON DEPARTMENT DOPO L'OCCUPAZIONE DELLA JUGOSLAVIA (6 APRILE 1941)

SINTESI

Nell'articolo viene presentata l'attività di alcuni sloveni del Litorale che durante la seconda guerra mondiale collaboravano con i servizi segreti e d'informazione britannici, la Special Operations Executive (SOE) e l'Inter-Services Liaison Department (ISLD).

Nell'introduzione l'autore riferisce dei servizi segreti e d'informazione britannici durante la guerra e del materiale d'archivio, come pure del ruolo della SOE e dell'ISLD nella Jugoslavia. Segue la descrizione di quegli sloveni del Litorale (il dr. Ivan Marija Čok e il prof. Ivan Rudolf), che incominciarono ancora prima dello scoppio del conflitto bellico la loro collaborazione illegale con i britannici nella lotta contro il fascismo ed il nazismo. In seguito viene presentata la collaborazione con la SOE e l'ISLD durante la guerra, nel tentativo di individuare dei contatti e delle informazioni con la Jugoslavia occupata, come pure nei preparativi e nella realizzazione di alcune operazioni-missioni speciali dei servizi segreti e d'informazione britannici.

Parole chiave: SOE, ISLD, missioni militari, Slovenia, Jugoslavia, seconda guerra mondiale, Ivan Rudolf, Ivan Marija Čok, TIGR

INTRODUCTION

Slovene historiography has hitherto devoted most of its attention to the period of the Second World War. In spite of the fact that there are numerous studies of this tragic period available, we are still not acquainted with some aspects, one of them being the cooperation of Slovenes with British intelligence. Although this cooperation was mentioned frequently, it has not yet been, in my opinion, examined thoroughly. For example, one of the key issues is how to evaluate this cooperation: was it an activity merely to the advantage of a foreign country or was it perhaps a contribution to the joint victory of the Allies over the Axis Powers and therefore also for the benefit of the Slovenes?

The reason that there was no exhaustive research in this direction until some years ago was the decades-long inaccessibility of the British intelligence archives; it is understandable that the treatment of secret services has always been a ticklish matter, however, it should be mentioned that for some time now many documents have been made available at the Public Record Office (PRO) in London. Moreover, modest knowledge of this issue can be attributed also to the negative or at least distrustful attitude of the Partisan leadership – with the Communist Party (CP) at the head – towards all those who cooperated with or had whatever contacts with British intelligence. Immediately after the War, when the CP assumed power in Slovenia as well as in Yugoslavia and gained complete control over the country, a general public campaign against the West and all those who had had contacts with western secret services started in the ever increasing range of the cold war. Those who were labelled secret agents or spies of the West automatically represented a danger to the "people's government" and therefore to the Slovene nation.

Recently – especially after Slovenia gained its independence in 1991 – Slovenes have witnessed important steps in the direction of a more relaxed and balanced treatment of the Second World War period and consequently also the issue of the cooperation with British intelligence. Some important archival sources have become more readily accessible, and since 1993, the records of the renowned British Special Operations Executive (SOE) have been made available at the PRO.

Among the Slovenes who collaborated with British Intelligence there were also some from Primorska.¹ They

and their association with the British intelligence in their joint struggle against the Axis Powers after the occupation of Yugoslavia will be the subject of this article, as their activity contributed significantly to the joint resistance against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on the territory of Yugoslavia. Some socio-political workers from Primorska of that time – Dr. Ivan Marija Čok (1886-1948), Prof. Ivan Rudolf (1898-1962) and others – as well as some young men from Primorska who were mobilized forcibly by the Italian Army, captured by the British² and trained for special missions, collaborated effectively with British intelligence. This collaboration was manifested mainly in the preparation and execution of some special missions, which British intelligence sent to the occupied Yugoslavia.

Through these missions, the Allies gathered important information on Slovenia and Yugoslavia in general as well as on armament, power and the array of armed forces in this strategic region. After the establishment of connections and communications, special missions were followed by observers and military missions that organized transfer of material and strategic aid and, last but not least, they represented a moral recognition of the Partisan movement. Altogether, this meant a considerable contribution to the struggle against the common enemy.

I had earlier researched the resistance movement of Slovenes in Primorska during my post-graduate studies at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana (Bajc, 2001), where I received my Master's Degree in September 2001 and was awarded the title of Master of Arts in History. Therefore I visited the PRO, examined the archives in Ljubljana, and I had at my disposal the personal records of Ivan Rudolf, an important man from Primorska who collaborated with British intelligence. I made use of English and Slovene historiographical output, and also of the materials of Yugoslav provenience.

In order to understand the issue properly, it is necessary to know in detail the historiography of Primorska in the preceding period, i.e. before the Second World War and particularly from 1918 on when, after the end of the First World War, the region came under Italy. The leading authority on this period with reference to Primorska, Dr. Milica Kacin Wohinz, prepared a survey of Yugoslav historiography a good 15 years ago (Kacin Wohinz, 1986). For my part, I compiled a form of supplement to this survey, i.e. a survey of Slovene, Italian and Croatian historiography (between the years 1985 and 2000) on

1 Primorska is not a uniform geographic macro region, however, it has many things in common as regards its history. In this article, we shall talk about the Trieste region, the Gorica region and Istria.

2 During the successful counterattack of the British against the Italian Army in Cyrenaica in Africa, which started in December 1940 and lasted for some months, many Italian soldiers were captured, approximately 113,000. Among them there were many Slovenes and Croats from Primorska who were mobilized forcibly by the Italian Army. In October and November 1942 at El Alamein and in May and April 1943 in Tunisia, the British took more prisoners of war and also among them there were many Slovenes and Croats.

the Julia Region³ during the period between the two Wars (Bajc, 2000a). In addition, I published a monograph about a notable Slovene from Primorska, Dr. Ivan Marija Čok who collaborated closely with Rudolf and British intelligence. In this monograph I used the abovementioned archive material (Bajc, 2000b). In my diploma work (Bajc, 1997, 218-259), with which I graduated at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Trieste in autumn 1997 and in my paper on the attitude of Slovenia towards the political opposition in Trieste during the early post-war period (Bajc, 1999) I studied the post-war communist authorities' distrust of some Slovenes from the Trieste Province, which can be attributed partly also to their collaboration with British intelligence.

ARCHIVE MATERIAL OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE

As mentioned before, since 1993, the SOE archive materials, carrying the record class HS, have been made available to researchers and new materials are released continually as can be evidenced through the Internet (<http://www.pro.gov.uk/releases>). Unfortunately, the material is incomplete because it was partly destroyed during the bombardments at the end of the War. It is believed that 85% of documents were ruined. For this reason, the internal history of the SOE is important. It was written by order of the British War Cabinet by a wartime member of the UK Air Ministry, otherwise a university professor, William James Millar Mackenzie. It seems that he used some material that was destroyed later or preserved unsorted and, in addition, he had numerous interviews with important protagonists of the SOE who were still alive at that time. In spite of the assurances given to Mackenzie that the public would never come to know the contents of his extensive work (four large files), this exceptionally interesting text has been available at the PRO (CAB 102/649-652) since 1997 and it was published in book form three years later (Mackenzie, 2000). In the now accessible original as well as in its published form, it is noted in places that some data are still confidential as usually happens in the SOE documents, which are not complete, because in some the names are erased and also whole paragraphs are missing.

The HS 5 series, which embraces the functioning of SOE in the Balkans, is of special interest to us. The files 5/868-969 deal with Yugoslavia. Some documents are stored in files which cover the Balkans more in general, namely 5/145-172, as well as in the HS 3 series, which contains the SOE documents on Africa and the Middle East (ME), and the HS 6 series which deals with the SOE operations in Western Europe. Although the documen-

tation is incomplete and – with regard to Yugoslavia – most materials refer to the British relations with Draža Mihajlović and the Chetnik movement and to the dilemmas over whom to support and to whom the aid should be sent – to Mihajlović or to Tito's Partisan movement – there is enough interesting documentation also on the subject of this article. Due to the lack of materials, the series HS 7 is also important. It contains internal reconstructions of the SOE operations, written at that time by British officials in the form of partially finished reconstructions or in the form of War Diaries. Most information is held in files 7/1, 7/3, 7/4, 7/200, 7/201, 7/211-234, 7/266-273. Some data on the organisation of SOE can be found also in documents of the Admiralty (PRO ADM).

In the meantime, many researchers of the Second World War have already studied the archives of the British War Office (PRO WO) and the Foreign Office (PRO FO). A considerable part of this very rich material has been available since the seventies and it has been possible to find some documents on the SOE organisation among these materials, as is evident particularly from the quotations in publications of one of the best Slovene experts on the Allies' archives from the Second World War, Dr. Dušan Biber, and mention can be made also of the late historian Dr. Jovan Marjanovič.

Unfortunately, materials of other secret services that operated parallel with the SOE – namely, the so-called conventional Intelligence Service (Military Intelligence 6-MI6 or Secret -also Special- Intelligence Service-SIS, in documents it appears also as C, which was the pseudonym of its Head), which were at least as important – is not accessible, except for some useful fragments found in the HS 5 and HS 7 series (and in PRO WO, FO), though it should be mentioned and underlined again that not all accessible documents are complete.

Because of the lack of the abovementioned material, the legacy of Prof. Ivan Rudolf is of special significance for the subject of this article, since his collaboration with the MI6 was even stronger than with the SOE. The private archive of Ivan Rudolf (PAIR) was kindly lent to me by his relatives at the beginning of 1997 and I arranged it myself. The PAIR comprises about 500 documents that for a large part refer to the Second World War period; a great part of the material is the correspondence between the Yugoslav Committee in Italy and some members of Yugoslav government-in-exile, between several British representatives and Slovene politicians in emigration. Most communication passed between the principal members of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy (Rudolf, Čok, M. Rybář).

3 The Giulia Region used to be an Austro-Hungarian territory, which Italy occupied at the end of the First World War. It comprised the provinces of Trieste, Goriško-Gradiščansko with a part of Notranjska and Carinthia, and Istria with the islands of Cres and Lošinj. I then named this region Venezia Giulia. Slovenes continued to use the name of Julijska Benečija (Giulian Venetia). Later the name of the Giulia Region prevailed (ES/4, 352).

In Slovene Archives (AS), the majority of information relevant to the subject of this article is in the former archive of the Ministry of the Interior, which is now recorded by the entry AS 1931 (Vodnik AS, 1999, Vol. 1, 57, 71), containing some scattered data in documentation, held mainly by the intelligence and security-informative service of Tito's Yugoslavia – the National Defence Department (Organizacija za zaščito naroda-OZNA)/State Security Authority (Uprava državne varnosti-UDV).⁴ The material consisted mainly of different post-war reconstructions, reports and personal dossiers.

The biggest difficulties arose mainly due to pioneer work on the archive material. First, I had to arrange the PAIR logically and chronologically. The SOE material is also rather unsorted, as there is no register of its documents except some skeleton official handbooks (SOE Operations in the Balkans, 1998). In fact, an exhaustive analytical and chronological study of the subject has not been done yet, as pointed out with regard to the Allies and Soviet missions about ten years ago by Dr. Dušan Biber (1991, 77), who had until then published the most thorough survey of military missions and intelligence services in Yugoslavia during the War.

The closest to our subject are some journalistic articles published a good decade ago, in particular the work of Jože Vidic (1989) and the articles coming out regularly since then. A series of articles on parachutists from Primorska, which has been accurately prepared by Ivo Jevnikar, a journalist from Trieste, since 1995 and published in *Mladika* (MLA) review under the title *Iz arhivov in predalov* (*From the Archives and Drawers*), is very interesting and irreplaceable because of some data it has brought out. The series contains several private testimonies of the protagonists still alive, as well as some so far unknown documents from the AS. In addition, Jevnikar had a series of programmes on the RAI Trieste radio station entitled *Z Bazovico v srcu* (*With Bazovica in Heart*, June-July 1999) in which he interviewed almost all protagonists who had had contacts or had known Čok, Rudolf and the others. There are also some short publications on Rudolf's life. By far the most important is the publication written by his son Saša (Rudolf, 1996) because it revealed the existence of his father's legacy, which aroused the exceptional interest of the author of this article.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR⁵

Although the British government bodies and their power of decision-making with regard to foreign policy issues depended primarily upon Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the highest representatives of the FO and WO, the secret and intelligence services also carried great weight in those decisions. During the Second World War, the SOE was with time assuming a more and more important role among these services, while it remained a classical intelligence service, the MI6, in a privileged position. Before proceeding with this paper, I shall first introduce the British intelligence services and their role during the Second World War.

More than a year before the start of the War, after Germany annexed Austria by the Anschluss on 12 March 1938, two British agencies for special operations were assigned the task of contacting resistance groups in Europe and soon after also the underground movement of Slovenes in Yugoslavia and Primorska. The first agency was called Section D and it belonged to the MI6. Section D examined every possibility of an attack on the potential enemy without the use of armed forces. The other agency, consisting of a small number of people, was a section of the General Staff (Research) – GS(R) – of the British War Office which was renamed and developed into the Military Intelligence Research Branch, known as MI(R). Its mission was to examine new techniques of irregular warfare. Mention should also be made here of a special organisation, which was set up immediately after the Anschluss and called simply after the name of the building in which it was based – Electra House (EH). It dealt with secret, i.e. "clean and dirty" propaganda and it was accountable to the FO.

After the outbreak of war in early September 1939 and the subsequent lightning breakthrough by Germany, which already threatened the British Isles, the British special services reorganized on 19 July 1940. Churchill himself took the initiative to establish a new organisation – the SOE – which was called the Special Operations 2 (SO2) until 4 September 1941 (although the abbreviation SO2 can be found in documents also after that date, we shall use in this paper, for the sake of simplicity, only the acronym SOE for the whole period). SO2 or SOE integrated the sections D and MI(R), and its mission was to stir up and then coordinate a revolt in the occupied countries. It belonged to the Ministry of

4 On 15 August 1941, the Partisan organisation in Slovenia – the Osvobodilna fronta slovenskega naroda-OF (Liberation Front) – established a special service – the Varnostnoobveščevalna služba-VOS (Security and intelligence service). On 13 May 1944, Tito merged secret and intelligence services in various regions of Yugoslavia into the OZNA. In Slovenia it was set up on 26 June 1944. In April 1946 it was substituted by UDV, better known as UDBA.

5 There is considerable literature on British intelligence in the Second World War with reference to Yugoslavia. Here are some works which, as a rule, cite also other literature: Barker, 1978; De Santis, 2001; Dorril, 2000; Foot, 1999; Mackenzie, 2000; Hinsley, 1994; Stafford, 1980; Stafford, 1997; Stafford, 2000; West, 1988a; West, 1988b.

Economic Warfare (MEW). In the meantime, the EH propaganda section was renamed Special Operations 1 (SO1), which later became the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), accountable to FO. Lastly, the Special Operations 3 (SO3), which would have taken control over planning, was soon abolished.

During the War, the SOE organisation operated in utmost secrecy, as hardly anyone knew of its existence before 1943 and it became publicly known only a few years after the War, so that even Winston Churchill did not mention it in his famous history of the Second World War (London 1948-1953). The organisation was constantly in the process of adaptation to war changes and its structure was rather complicated. There were approximately 10,000 male members and 3,200 women, and at least one third operated in the field. SOE operated or endeavoured to operate all over the world, wherever it could hurt the Axis Powers. When speaking about the SOE and its forerunners, we should point to the complicated events involving the organisation. Especially in the beginning, the power relations between the British secret services were trying. The SOE, as the most recent secret service, was made a target of many critical comments by "older colleagues" or similar organisations, as for example the SO1 or PWE. In the beginning, the SOE had many problems, including distrust, envy and scepticism on the part of their "colleagues", as well as strained relations with the FO. The SOE was cancelled after the War, on 15 January 1946 and a part of its members passed over to other British secret, intelligence and security services.

The SOE cooperated closely with a similar American organisation – the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, a forerunner of the post-war Central Intelligence Agency – CIA). As to their operations in the Balkans and the ME, there was almost more antagonism than cooperation between the two organisations, because the British were afraid that the Americans wanted to take over the influence in this very sensitive area.

Often, the SOE had to cooperate also with other secret and intelligence services although it was not keen on that. Besides the SOE there were other British intelligence or secret services in operation with a long-lasting tradition, which they have preserved to the present. There was the Military Intelligence 5-Security Service (MI5) whose primary mission was to ensure the internal security of the Great Britain and its territorial waters, i.e. a typical counterintelligence service. Their control included also different kinds of censure, and Churchill was receiving messages directly from the MI5 (PRO KV

4/83). This service had an important role in preparing or concealing special and military operations, and when the allied invasion began with the disembarkation in Normandy ("Overlord" operation, 6 June 1944), the MI5 switched from the defensive to the offensive (PRO KV 4/87, 26/6/44). I have not studied in detail the relations between Slovenes from Primorska and the MI5, however, further research into the wartime connections between Slovenes and the others with the British will certainly have to take into consideration also the operation of MI5. Research in this direction has become easier, as the MI5 archives have gradually turned out to be more accessible, though the extent of material released is still not known. At present, there is the official history of this service available in London (PRO KV 4/1-3), which has been published almost entirely (The Security Service, 1999).

However, it will be difficult to reconstruct in detail the operations of the most elite British secret service MI6, which, in comparison with the MI5, was explicitly offensive. Despite the rather liberal policy of the British authorities, the MI6 documentation is still inaccessible and there is every indication that it will remain like this for some time. The MI6 is at least as important to the theme of this paper as the SOE. First, this is due to the fact that the forerunners of the SOE and its members derived mainly from the MI6 and second, because the Inter-Services Liaison Department (ISLD) operated in parallel with the SOE and it was actually a cover for the MI6 operations during the War, operating in a similar way to the SOE. Thus, the ISLD and the SOE cooperated frequently, but there was some distrust between them and bad relations were not uncommon.

This article will reveal that some Slovenes from Primorska collaborated either with the SOE or the ISLD, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two organisations as well as the collaboration with one or the other. As a matter of fact, even the collaborators were not always quite clear who their superiors were accountable to – the SOE or the MI6, or even the MI5 and PWE.

SOE, ISLD AND YUGOSLAVIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

During the Second World War, the situation in Yugoslavia was quite complex. There is a lot of literature on this issue.⁶ In the continuation, a rough account will be given on how the Axis Powers – when a large part of Europe was already under the boot of Nazism –

6 Some surveys, e.g. Pirjevec, 1995; Plenča, 1962; Strugar, 1980. On the conflict between Tito and Chetniks and the involvement of the Allies, e.g. Biber, 1981; Marjanović, 1979; Roberts, 1973; Tomasevich, 1979. On the royal government in emigration, e.g. Šepić, 1983. On the assumption of power by the Communist Party, e.g. Vodušek Starič, 1992. So far, the most extensive and explanatory surveys on Slovenia in particular are: Mikuž, 1960-1973; NOV na Slovenskem, 1976; ZS, 734-887. A survey from the anti-communist point of view, Kos, 1984-1991. The newest and most balanced wartime history – even though it deals mainly with the intellectuals – is: Godeša, 1995.

attacked Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941, conquered and divided it. At the invasion, the royal government fled to the Near East and from there to London. There they were trying to persuade the Allies that a monarchy should be established again after the War. In the meantime, there was a big dispute between the different sides in the occupied Yugoslavia: (a) on the one side, the Chetniks started their resistance movement against the occupier; they were led by Dragoljub-Draža Mihajlović, who was a follower of the Yugoslav royal government policy and his tactic was to wait for the right moment to unleash a general and mass resistance; (b) on the other side, there was the Partisan movement under the leadership of Josip Broz-Tito who – with the Communist Party at the head – organized and led an extensive resistance movement in the light of revolutionary transformation of Yugoslavia immediately after the German attack on the Soviet Union (22 June 1941); (c) various forms of collaborationism developed in different parts of Yugoslavia; (d) many could not afford to take the middle course or stay neutral. In November 1941, a dispute between Chetniks and Partisans started and it soon became a mutual clash of arms, which lasted until the end of the War. While Partisans continued their resistance and revolutionary movement, the Chetniks began to cooperate (from the point of view of some researchers more, and for the others less) with the occupiers and various collaborationists in order to first destroy the Partisan movement. In the first war years, the British and Americans supported Mihailović, but from mid-1943 they started to help Tito, abandoned the Chetniks completely and accepted Tito as the only leader of the Yugoslav resistance. The Partisan movement in Slovenia operated in the framework of the Slovene National Liberation Front (OF), which was established on 26 April 1941 and consisted of the opponents to the Yugoslav royal government and the pre-war political system, i.e., the Communist Party, Christian Socialists, the left wing of liberally oriented Sokol organisation and several smaller groups. In Slovenia, the Communist party had a leading role as well. The Chetnik movement did not succeed in developing widely among Slovenes, while the organisation of anti-partisan military formations was quite successful. They directly collaborated with the occupiers in the (naïve) hope that at the end of the War (because of their anti-communism) the Western Allies would occupy Yugoslavia and restore the pre-war conditions.

The SOE organisation did not succeed in uniting all potential resistance powers in Yugoslavia, nor even in preventing continuation of the conflict between Chet-

niks and Partisans, but it did play an important role in deciding which side the Allies should support. For example as the well-known economist, Dr. Aleksander Bajt, has written in his extensive book on the Second World War in Yugoslavia, even the SOE had different viewpoints and obviously conflicting interests with regard to the events in Yugoslavia; in general, the head office in London supported the Chetnik commander Draža Mihailović, while a very important section in Cairo was pro-Soviet, which was an important factor, leading the British to decide eventually to support Tito's Partisans (Bajt, 1999, 537-564).⁷ Recently, various interpretations and even speculations have come out with regard to this issue, namely, that the infiltration of the agents of Soviet secret service Narodnyi Kommissariat Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti (NKGB) decisively influenced the decision of the Allies to withdraw support to Mihailović and give it to Tito. However things were, for example one of the best British authorities on the history of secret services, Christopher Andrew, has revealed the actual involvement of Soviet secret services in the operations of SOE and other secret, intelligence and security services of the UK. Several important officials of the SOE Balkans section had known for some time about their membership in the pre-war British Communist Party and that they had been Soviet secret agents (Andrew, Gordievskij, 2000, 242, 281, 283, 284, 316, 749, 750; Andrew, Mitrokhin, 1999, 117-120, 167; Andrew, 1999, 18-23; Stafford, 1997, 297, 298; Dorril, 2000, 333, 334). In spite of their mutual distrust, certain cooperation between British and Soviet secret agents and intelligence services respectively existed at the beginning of the War, specifically from the end of 1940 and it was present also in the territory of Yugoslavia (SOE Operations in the Balkans, 1998, 2, 4; SOE Operations in Eastern Europe, 1998, 3, 5, 10, 12, 13, 19, 20, 22, 27-29, 32, 34; Andrew, Gordievskij, 2000, 273, 282, 299, 311-325, 343-347). However, a known fact should be mentioned here: that the British learnt through the intercepted German messages by means of the ULTRA⁸ decoding system that Tito's Partisan forces caused more damage and trouble to the Axis Forces than Mihailović's Chetniks, who in some regions collaborated with the occupiers. Such information was confirmed by some missions in the field. Active resistance was a priority for the SOE and for the Allies' military strategy in general, and for this reason the decision to support the Partisans – despite great political scepticism due to the communist monopoly – was unavoidable.

7 With this extensive book (1,345 pages), which represents a mixture of memories, the use of considerable literature, published sources and some British documents, Bajt wished to revise many things, in particular to rehabilitate the Chetnik movement and expose the absurdity of the Partisan struggle. Some historians have contradicted him, e.g. Pleterski, 1999; Pleterski, 2001; Repe, 2000, 104, 105.

8 ULTRA was the most safeguarded secret in Great Britain during the Second World War. This was a special system of decoding which enabled the British to intercept the messages of German secret encoding system called Enigma. The system was invented by an eccentric mathematician Alan Turing, who took part in creating the first English computer in 1954 (De Santis, 2001, 34-35).

The occupation by the Axis Forces put SOE and MI6 activities in Yugoslavia under enormous strain. It seems that SOE failed to keep the pre-war posts with which it could communicate, while MI6 managed to preserve some connections through secret radio transmitters. There is every indication that two of them transmitted from Slovenia, that is from the outskirts of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. SOE was therefore interested in re-establishing its connections with the occupied Yugoslavia, and the same holds also for MI6 as it probably wanted to get new or verify previous information through the ISLD.

The final objective was to establish official military representations of the countries of the antifascist coalition in the form of the so-called Allies military missions. However, it was necessary first to come into contact with occupied Yugoslavia, to understand the situation in the field, establish connections with resistance groups and to set up radio communication with the headquarters. This was the task of the first intelligence missions, which were more of a "reconnaissance" nature. They were followed by observers and finally by the British Liaison Officers (BLO) who were actually military missions.

Frequently, the structure of special and military missions was mixed: there were some people from SOE and some from ISLD, who were in general distrustful of resistance movements in Yugoslavia. So they, for example, kept secret codes for communication to themselves or only reluctantly gave them over to the Partisans. The first intentions of ISLD were mainly of a political nature and directly linked to the long-term objectives of the FO and Churchill himself, while SOE was responsible to MEW, and their objectives – at least in principle – were tied to military (usually short-term) interests. However, this does not mean that there were no political views expressed in SOE messages, as is evident from the directives to SOE missions (ref., PRO HS 5/877, 10/12/42; HS 5/896; HS 5/894 directives to the "Henna" Mission).

During the first years of the War, the centre of SOE and ISLD operations was in the ME. When, before the occupation of Yugoslavia, the situation became very tense, the British had to interrupt all communication via the Mediterranean and it became clear that in future the bulk of communications would pass through the base in Cairo (Mackenzie, 2000, 16). This put them to considerable trouble, but they persisted, as there was obviously no other choice, and later it turned out that the choice had lasting consequences. Namely, when in October 1941, the highest circles of the British Army decided eventually to support the resistance movement in Yugoslavia (they first intended to support the Chetniks) in

spite of their scepticism regarding the efficiency of resistance, it became evident that support could be offered only from the ME. In the beginning of December 1941, there were some concrete proposals to move the centre of operations from London to the ME. Thus Cairo became the actual centre of data collection, training of agents for missions and giving directives for the Balkans sections of SOE as well as for ISLD. After the capitulation of Italy the headquarters were moved to Bari in the south of Italy, but even thereafter and until the end of the War Cairo remained an important point, although there were serious polemics between the leading circles in this centre (PRO HS 7/211, 15; HS 7/223, 2222; HS 5/912, 16/10/41; Foot, 1999, 332-334; SOE Operations in Africa and the Middle East, 1998, 11, 17-20).

It was a difficult and very delicate matter for the British how to send the first special missions to Yugoslavia, as the sending of subsequent missions would depend on that. SOE and ISLD had a lot of difficulties, including technical deficiencies owing to internal division, lack of suitable collaborators to be sent with the missions to the occupied territory of Yugoslavia. Some Slovenes from Primorska played an important role as they had successfully collaborated with British secret services already some years before the War.

Collaboration of SOE with the Yugoslav government in exile and the Yugoslav Army was difficult as disputes began between them. There were many intrigues and conflicts and there was much disunity in the government (e.g. PRO WO 193/629, 12/3/42; FO 371/33475 R 201/201/92; R 272/201/92; R 713/201/92; PRO FO 536/4, 3034/38/42; FO 536/6, 3611; HS 5/904, March 1942; 2/2/42; HS 5/929, 12/10/42; HS 5/939, 30/8/41).

SLOVENES FROM PRIMORSKA BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In order to understand correctly the collaboration of some Slovenes from Primorska with SOE and ISLD, we need a brief background to the history of Primorska, especially in the period between the two Wars. Many things have been written and said about the subject,⁹ but the main characteristic was the conflict between the nations who lived there – Slovenes and Croats on the one hand and Italians on the other – as to who would dominate in the territory and where the boundary line would be drawn. When, after the First World War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire – which until then comprised almost the entire Slovene ethnic territory – fell apart, the barriers, which until that moment had prevented Slovenes from deciding their fate inside their own national boundary, collapsed in reality. While Slovenes had their

9 See Kacin Wohinz, 1972; Kacin Wohinz 1986; Kacin Wohinz, 1977; Kacin Wohinz, 1990; Kacin Wohinz, Pirjevec, 2000, 21-81; Bajc, 2000a; Darovec, 1998, 93-96; Slovene-Italian Relations, 2001, 127-138; ES/4, 184-189; ES/9, 345-349; ES/11, 263-271; ZS, 614-619, 625-628, 705-726.

first real chance to unite as much of their national body as possible in a single state community (as an independent Slovenia or in association with other South Slavs), for the opposite Italian side, the circumstances indicated a unique opportunity for their expansion to the East with the aim of concluding the process of "national unification".

On the basis of the Treaty of Rapallo signed between Italy and Yugoslavia on 12 November 1920, a complete implementation of the London Pact of 1915 (in which the Entente powers promised the entire territory of the Giulia Region to Italy in order to persuade it to declare war on Austria-Hungary) was partially obstructed. However, this was a poor consolation to the Slovenes, on the contrary, Italy actually occupied more Slovene territories to the East than determined by the Pact. The new western border tore one fourth of Slovenes away from the main national body; together with Venetian Slovenes, who had been in the Italian Kingdom since 1866, 360,000 Slovenes and about 160,000 Croats remained under Italy (e.g. Kacin Wohinz, 2000, 177).

The Italian occupation had introduced (already before the period of Fascism, which came to power in October 1922) a policy of denationalisation, which intensified with the purpose of completely destroying the presence of Slovene and Croatian nationality. The Slovenes resisted the denationalisation process in different ways, depending also on their political and ideological orientations. Therefore, completely different methods of operation emerged – from legal resistance (where that was possible at all) to rebellion by any means, which also envisaged an underground movement.

The underground movement of Slovenes (and Croats) in the Giulia Region started very early. In fact, a spontaneous resistance developed among the people immediately after the Italian occupation in autumn 1918. Soon, an organized underground movement started, supported by the Yugoslav side; first with the backing of the *Pisarna za zasedeno ozemlje* (Office of the Occupied Territory), followed by *Jugoslovanska Matica* and *Narodna odbrana* (National Defense); the Slovene clergy¹⁰ and *Orjuna* (Organisation of Yugoslav Nationalists) in particular was also very active. These were the first beginnings of later illegal resistance by a national-revolutionary organisation, known under the acronym TIGR (Trieste, Istria, Gorica, Rijeka), which in autumn 1927 became a joint or-

ganisation for the whole Giulia Region. Through its terrorist actions, TIGR wanted to inform the world about the conduct of Italy. They were collecting arms and explosives to organize guerrilla warfare, gathering military and political information for Yugoslavia, taking care of the transfer of illegal antifascist newspapers as well as Slovene books which they needed for secret courses in the Slovene language. The Yugoslav government supported the movement financially and morally, but on demand from Italy they acted also against the organisation. Activities, similar to those of TIGR – at any rate more of an intelligence and in particular irredentist and propaganda nature – were started by other movements in Primorska and in the interior of Slovenia, especially by the *Zveza jugoslovanskih emigrantov iz Julijske krajine* (Union of Yugoslav Exiles from the Giulia Region) from 1931 to 1940, headed by their president I. M. Čok. The operations of all these organisations were closely interrelated and intertwined continually.

As in the late thirties, the general situation in Europe was becoming more strained every day because of German open and unpunished expansion and because Yugoslavia was getting dangerously close to the Axis Forces, the Union of Yugoslav Exiles from the Giulia Region preventively established connections, through the Yugoslav counterintelligence service UJKA, with the British and French secret services and promised them their collaboration and support from TIGR. In exchange they expected an assurance of favourable demarcation in the Giulia Region after an (eventual) war. The Western Allies readily accepted the proposition of collaboration, but their promises given to the Slovenes from Primorska were only in principle. The prime liaison persons between the British and TIGR were Čok and Rudolf, and Albert Rejec, the founder and ideological leader of TIGR, worked closely with them.

Collaboration developed mainly in three directions:

In collaboration with the intelligence network created by TIGR, Čok and his collaborators were sending the British and the French much important information, which was not restricted to the Italian territory but, with the help of Slovenes from Carinthia, covered also Austria and South Germany.

Antifascist propaganda material was printed in Yugoslavia and distributed in Italy, Austria and South Germany.

10 As early as in 1920, the Slovene clergy restored their priesthood organisation – the *Zbor svečnikov Sv. Pavla* (Council of Priests of St. Paul; established first in 1899), which was coordinating and uniting the work of Slovene and Croatian priests in Italy in religious, national, cultural and other fields. The main mission of the Council of Priests of St. Paul was to preserve and strengthen the Slovene language, which proved to be a far-sighted decision as regards the broader Slovene national community which the Italians wanted to Italianise by force; when, at the end of the twenties, the Italian Fascist regime totally banned any Slovene legal activities, the activity of the Council of Priests of St. Paul continued in secrecy in churches and parishes. The Secret Christian Social Organisation operated parallel to it and it had a widespread network of trusted agents, as they were present almost in every village in Primorska. All the time, its activities and also other underground organisations in Primorska were sustained by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Pelikan, 2002).

For the British, the most important assignment of the Slovene collaborators was their engagement in sabotages on strategic targets in Italy and Austria as well as on the Danube-Balkan line, which was connecting an extremely important German economic area.

Slovenes from Primorska obtained a considerable amount of explosives and other material as well as propaganda materials to successfully carry out some significant actions against German railway communications in Slovene Carinthia and Austria even before Yugoslavia entered the War. We have already learnt these facts from a detailed survey by the historian Tone Ferenc (1977) and other publications. However, it is interesting that the FO confirmed them in their records during the war, especially when they were considering Dr. Čok, but they did not mention the details of those activities (PRO FO 371/33446 R 2682/35/92; FO 371/37629 R 230/230/92; R 1717/230/92; FO 371/37638A R 5325/2191/92; FO 371/67409 R 3557/108/92; FO 536/6, 3144C/5/43; 3144C/7/43; 3144C/8/43). These facts are evident also from Rudolf's legacy (ref. PAIR/4, 23/10/41; PAIR/4, beginning of January 1944) and other documents (e.g. PRO HS 7/4; HS 5/875, 20/11/41; HS 5/919, 13/8/42; compare with Biber, 1999, 146).

A year before the occupation of Yugoslavia, Germany and Italy instantly and decisively reacted to the sabotages, and German intelligence services tracked down some persons behind the actions. The Germans informed the Yugoslav government about the affair and they had to yield to the German demands to suppress and arrest the responsible. Therefore, Čok was arrested in Ljubljana on 7 July 1940 and was immediately locked up in Belgrade prison, but many others absconded. For example, Rudolf fled to Serbia. At the same time, minister Dragiša Cvetković had to abolish the UJKA intelligence service. But instead of sentencing them, or even handing them over to the Germans, they interned Čok in Arandjelovac and Mataruška Banja in Serbia. Likewise, the Italian secret fascist police OVRA (Opera vigilanza repressione antifascista) soon tracked down the TIGR organisation, and in March 1940 they started a series of arrests of important people and learnt many a thing in the hearings. Consequently, the notorious Trieste Trial took place from 1 to 14 December 1941, and experts believe that it meant a definite end to the TIGR organisation.

The arrests represented a destructive blow to the underground movement of Slovenes in Primorska, and then liberal progressive circles from central Slovenia came to the front. The British secret services, in fact, collaborated well not only with the Slovenes from Primorska; progressive circles of liberal orientation in Slovenia were organizing clandestine channels for refugees, intelligence networks, sabotages, diversions, secret radio stations and depots for arms in collaboration with

the French and especially with the British secret services as well. At the beginning of the Second World War, the atmosphere in Slovenia was quite in favour of the British. In general, British diplomats believed in the late thirties that Slovenes of different orientations (conservative and liberal) were on their side (Vodušek Starič, 2001a; Vodušek Starič, 2001b).

JUGOSLOVANSKI ODBOR IZ ITALIJE (YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE IN ITALY)

After the arrests and the occupation of Yugoslavia, those TIGR leaders who avoided arrest for the most part joined the Partisans, but some still collaborated with the British secret services. This was the case with Čok and Rudolf who continued their work outside Yugoslavia. They had fled from Yugoslavia into emigration before the occupation, with special tasks, which were consistent with the British secret services and the Jugoslovanski odbor iz Italije (Yugoslav Committee in Italy).

The Committee is not well enough known, and for this reason it is necessary to say a few words about it. In the literature, it was discussed mainly in a negative tone, as if, headed by Čok and Rudolf, it was too pro-monarchy and pro-Mihailović, and that its activities were in general harmful because they wanted to use the Yugoslav Army, which was supposed to be formed in exile, to restore the pre-war Yugoslavia and to praise the Partisans only for the sake of opportunism, etc. (e.g. Klun, 1976, 12, 640, 900; Klun, 1978, 86, 121-124; Klun, 1986, 79-81; Vilhar, Klun, 1967, 56, 153, 158, 159, 180, 182, 188, 189; Vilhar, Klun, 1970, 118-144, 160; Vilhar, Klun, 1973, 93, 94, 96, 245-253).

In fact, the Committee came into existence in Belgrade at the beginning of 1940 on the initiative of representatives of political organisations of Slovenes and Croats from Italy who agreed with the Union of Yugoslav Exiles from the Giulia Region to establish a parallel committee which would, in case the war entangled Yugoslavia, represent the interests of Slovenes and Croats from Primorska and Istria in exile. The Committee consisted of 24 members, of which half was active in the Giulia Region and the other half was in exile in Yugoslavia. They agreed that in case one group were prevented from operating, the other would be fully entitled to carry on with operations. Because of the above-mentioned arrests, the Committee lost the majority of its members in the Giulia Region, however, the remainder took the initiative and, on 8 February 1941, they elected Čok president with a mandate to lead a political campaign for unification of the Giulia Region with Yugoslavia. Namely, the Committee intended to assume the function of the Yugoslav Committee, which operated similarly during the First World War in exile with the purpose of joining Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in a united state. On the eve of occupation, the Yugoslav

Committee in Italy set itself the goal of carrying out the programme to the end and uniting Slovenes and Croats from the Giulia region with Yugoslavia (Kalc, 1996, 46, 47; Bajc, 2000b, 98-111; Rejec, 1998).

At that time, shortly before the occupation of Yugoslavia, a joint organisation of exiles in Belgrade set the Yugoslav Committee the task of bringing together volunteers in exile in order to establish a Primorska legion. This was agreed with the British, who promised to finance the legion but on condition that it would operate under their control (PAIR/4, 15/4/41; 18/4/41; 20/4/41; 22/5/41; beginning of January 1944; PAIR/Čok/1, 1/2/43). In addition, the members of the Committee agreed to cooperate conspiratorially in special assignments with the British to select candidates for SOE and ISLD. The Committee members, however, did not report this to the Yugoslav government and its military circles but to the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow, Milan Gavrilović, who was himself in very close contact with SOE (PAIR/4, 15/4/41). According to reconstructions by OZNA/UDBA, general Bogoljub Ilić probably knew about these activities in addition to Rudolf and Čok (AS 1931/AOS, 328).

As the pressure of the Axis Forces on Yugoslavia was becoming ever stronger, it became clear that the country was also doomed to be drawn into the war, and Čok and Rudolf had to escape from Yugoslavia. On 5 March 1941, they broke away from their confinement in Serbia and three days later they arrived in Istanbul, where they remained until the first half of April. From there they went to Ankara and, on 1 May 1941, to Jerusalem where they met the Yugoslav government. In June or more probably in July they arrived in Cairo in Egypt (PAIR/4, 5/4/41; 15/4/41; 25/5/41; PAIR/8, 21/5/44; PAIR/Čok/1, 15/3/41). In their flight, they were assisted by British secret services. Their contemporaries – mostly political opponents – knew about this help, but they were not quite clear when Čok and Rudolf had left (ref. AS 1660/6/I/4, 5/4/1941; AS 1931/Furlan 9391, 9546; AS 1931/Furlan/XVII/3; AS 1931, AOS, 324; Arnež, 1997, 8; Snoj, 1998, 22/4/98; PAIR/Čok/1, 23/4/44). Before his departure, Čok informed the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the then president of Yugoslav government about the intentions of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy (PAIR/4, 18/4/41), and Rudolf explained to the leaders of the British Army that the purpose of his flight had been to continue his work in cooperation with ISLD (PAIR/4, beginning of January 1944).

During the War, Čok as president and Rudolf as secretary, in accordance with the objectives of the Committee, continued to convince the Allies of the need for unifying the Giulia Region with Yugoslavia after the War by extensive propaganda campaigns (radio speeches, the Committee's bulletin *Bazovica*, Čok's brochures, etc.). Most active in these activities was Čok who was in London and in the USA most of the time, where he was

meeting foreign diplomats and journalists and writing to chief representatives of the Allies, and the like. At that time, Rudolf was operating from the ME. In agreement with the Yugoslav government in exile and with the British Army, he was organizing gatherings of volunteers of Slovene nationality from the ranks of Italian prisoners of war (for the most part, these were Slovenes from Primorska, mobilized forcibly by Italy) to join the Yugoslav Army in exile. Most volunteers joined the King's guard battalion and some, as we shall see later, were especially trained by SOE and ISLD to take part in military missions to Yugoslavia.

By forming a military group, a sort of Primorska legion, the Yugoslav Committee strived to create a suitably prepared and motivated military unit, which could be used at the right moment and sent to Primorska to maintain the borders by force until international recognition. Such a plan is, however, not explicitly stated in the bulk of examined documentation, but the overall course of operation indicates that such a plan should have existed: i.e., Rudolf's task was to collect and train military units, and Čok would seek support of all anti-Hitler allies through political and propaganda means, which could be decisive at the right moment for the recognition of a new border.

At the beginning, the Yugoslav Committee in Italy was in favour of Mihailović and his Chetniks but gradually the Committee was getting nearer to the Partisan movement. In spite of this, Partisan leadership continued with their mistrust of Čok and Rudolf. At the end of 1943, the Committee experienced a crisis, since the majority of volunteers revolted because they did not want to serve the Yugoslav monarchy, and they crossed over to the Prekomorske brigade (Overseas Brigades) that went to fight in the occupied Yugoslavia on Tito's side.

SLOVENES FROM PRIMORSKA AND A SEARCH FOR CONNECTIONS WITH THE OCCUPIED YUGOSLAVIA

After the occupation of Yugoslavia, the SOE and ISLD organisations would have appreciated any information coming from the occupied territories, as well as on the part of Čok and Rudolf who arrived at the ME where, as mentioned above, there was the centre of British operations.

When, on 8 March 1941, Čok and Rudolf arrived in Istanbul, they immediately entered into contact with British officials (it is not clear whether they were members of MI6 or SOE). Rudolf gave them some interesting materials (PAIR/8, 21/5/44). We do not know, however, what kind of material that was, but it is worth mentioning in this connection that Rudolf had organized a breaking into the Italian Consulate in Ljubljana from where the members of TIGR took extensive documentation and handed it over to the Allies' intelligence serv-

ices (Rudolf, 1996, 54). Unfortunately, we do not have detailed information on this action.¹¹

A letter received by Rudolf on 21 March 1941 from Albert Rejec which, among other things, contained also some information on the movements of German and Italian troops along the Yugoslav border, was of interest to the British secret services, too (PAIR/Čok/1, 15/3/41). Further messages of that kind would have been very welcome, but Rudolf's legacy indicates that communications with the occupied homeland were really poor. Evidently, even the members of Yugoslav Committee in Italy, who remained in Yugoslavia, did not have much opportunity to communicate with Čok and Rudolf, as they complained frequently in their mutual correspondence that they had had difficulties in establishing contacts with their homeland and with Rejec in particular. As regards Rejec, we know that he received a secret radio transmitter from the British before the occupation of Yugoslavia but he was not able to use it (Rejec, 1995, 36, 37). In spite of the fact that Rudolf and Čok did not succeed in communicating directly with their people who remained in Yugoslavia, they were very important to the British secret services for acquiring information and connections with the occupied territory.

Consequently, on 3 August 1941, the managing director of SOE in Cairo, Tom Masterson, received a message from an important collaborator, Hugh Seton-Watson saying that, in his long conversation with Čok, he obtained precious information and names that would help to establish communication with Yugoslavia. Čok also thought that Slovene radio transmissions had been very useful to a related organisation – SO1. Watson pointed out that Yugoslav government circles recommended transferring Čok to London and finally, he believed that Čok should have been given an utmost urgent priority as he was *"extremely useful both for SO1 and SO"* (PRO HS 5/874, 3/8/41; HS 7/219, 1314). The British intended to ask Čok whether he could get in touch with the organisation in Yugoslavia: *"Dr. Čok will probably have some bright ideas for getting into touch with his men..."* (PRO HS 5/965, 27/9/41).

Čok remained in the ME for a short time. He intended to continue his task of gaining political support for unification of the Giulia Region with Yugoslavia in London and he went there in July 1941. Before his departure, he had reached an agreement with colonel William Bailey that Rudolf would remain in Cairo at the disposal of SOE (PRO HS 5/875, 20/11/41), though Čok wished later that Rudolf had caught up with him in London (PRO HS 7/222, 1921; HS 5/875, 7/11/41; 15/11/41).

When SOE wanted to establish contacts with Slovenia, they first sent a special mission called "Henna" (No-

vember 1941 and January 1942), lead by a Slovene, Stanislav Rapotec. Numerous British documents reveal in what way Čok and Rudolf participated in this mission, Rudolf in particular, in planning of the mission (PRO HS 5/874, 23/10/41; 3/11/41; HS 5/875, 7/11/41; 15b/11/41; 20/11/41; 22/11/41; HS 5/905, 18/6/42; HS 7/219, 1375; HS 7/221, 1820; HS 7/222, 1921, 1958, 1990, 1991, 2116, 2117, 2062; compare Biber, 1991, 117.). This is evident also from their correspondence (PAIR/7, 3/9/41; PAIR/Čok/1, 20/10/41; 16/11/41; late autumn 1941; 4/4/42; PAIR/Čok/4, 30/8/41; 14/11/41; 17/3/42). One of the main objectives of the "Henna" mission (and some other missions planned by the end of summer 1942) was to restore the operation of Čok's organisation, i.e. the TIGR organisation or, as found in some documents, the *"Bertie and Blondie's organisation"* (organisation of Albert Rejec and Danilo Zelen, the leaders of TIGR, author's comment), which was, as mentioned above, in connection with the British intelligence before the War (PRO HS 5/894, 18/10/41; HS 5/896, 14/7/42; HS 5/877, 5/8/42; HS 5/919, 20/5/42; 13/8/42; HS 5/939, 15/7/42; HS 7/266, 103; Biber, 1979, 142). The plans to resume connections and the operations of TIGR failed because the majority of its members had already joined the Partisans, some, like Rejec, were out of reach during the War and Zelen fell in the first battle between Slovenes and the Italian occupier on 13 May 1941.

In Cairo, in October 1941, Rudolf despite everything received some news from Yugoslavia through Istanbul where a certain Fischer (there are few data on his identity) was in constant contact with Belgrade (PAIR/Čok/1, 14/10/41). Unfortunately, Fischer had to leave Istanbul soon. For this reason, Rudolf asked Čok to intercede with the finance minister to give him an assignment in Istanbul. The matter seemed urgent as there was a danger that Fischer might be sent to the USA where he would be useless, while in Istanbul there was no Slovene left since the other possible collaborator, Milan Prosen, had to go to Ankara. But in the Turkish capital, a certain "Fisherman" was active, who was not Slovene but who could, as Rudolf thought, do *"our jobs"* well (PAIR/Čok/1, 20/10/41). We can imagine what was meant by *"our jobs"* – connections with collaborators in occupied Yugoslavia. It is not clear, however, how these connections were realized.

At the beginning of December 1941 a message arrived in Cairo from Istanbul and it was handed also to Rudolf. The message talked about the political situation in the homeland, there was a mention of Chetnik and communist (Partisan, author's comment) resistance and that there was a split between them, but Slovenia was not mentioned. The message was not signed (PAIR/Čok/2, 1/12/41).

11 In reply to my question as to where that interesting information came from, S. Rudolf explained that he had been told about it by the late Rado Bordon (1915-1992).

Almost simultaneously with the preparation for the "Henna" mission, an "affair" happened in connection with Dr. Vinko Vrhunec. In November 1941, the leader of Slovene Liberals, Dr. Albert Kramer, sent him to Switzerland to establish a radio connection with London. Vrhunec left for Switzerland to get in contact with the Yugoslav government in exile in London on behalf of liberal circles. Supposedly, he had some information that, in the opinion of SOE, was very important to them. However, he had to return to Slovenia, where he was arrested and put in prison by the Italians. In London, therefore, only some initial messages about German denationalisation policy, shooting of hostages and the memorandum on Slovene national borders were received from Switzerland (e.g. AS 1931/AOS, 55, 294, 295; Vodusek Starič, 2001a, 73). The SOE documents prove, that Čok strongly expected the SOE to get into touch with Vrhunec. At the beginning of December 1941, Čok sent a coded message to Vrhunec and informed him that he would be contacted by someone and approached with the password "NICOLA". SOE sent a telegram to Bern in Switzerland with a message that a well-known Vinko Vrhunec had arrived from Slovenia and that in Bern exactly the password "NICOLA" should be used through the Yugoslav embassy. The next month, the SOE officials for the Balkans stated in their documents that Vrhunec was a friend of Čok's. Čok vouched for Vrhunec, claiming that he was very interested in getting in touch with him and, if it had been possible to get a certain meaningful memorandum, he would have sent him to London. In addition, Čok told a member of SOE, E.P.F. Boughey, that he had had every chance to get in touch with Vrhunec and that he would not have needed any assistance from the SOE organisation (PRO HS 5/875, 10a/12/41; 10b/12/41; 11/1/42).

In June 1942, SOE reported from Cairo that Rudolf had received a message, that Vrhunec had been arrested on his return from Switzerland and even that he had been shot. SOE had no doubt that Čok had been the one who informed Rudolf but it seemed that Vrhunec was still alive – for the Italians had arrested him and put him in prison. The cagueness about Vinko Vrhunec stirred a bit the British and the SOE in particular, as they were not getting information in time, and for that they blamed partly also Čok and Rudolf. In a few months, it eventually turned out and it was proved that Rudolf was an SOE collaborator, that Čok was in contact with them and that the accusations had been unfounded (PRO HS 5/913, 15a/6/42; 15b/6/41; 17/6/42; 19/6/42; 21/6/42; 11/8/42; 28/8/42). The Vrhunec affair had bearing also on the SOE intention to finally start the operations in Slovenia, where they had not succeeded till then. Also, the contacts with Rudolf and Čok served that purpose, i.e. to obtain relevant information on Slovenia with a view to resuming activities, which they wanted to achieve also with the abovementioned "Henna" mission

(PRO HS 5/913, 28/8/42; Biber, 1991, 117).

In March 1942, it became evident indirectly that Rudolf had known more about the backstage of establishing connection with the homeland (PAIR/Čok/4, 17/3/42), and the next year he even managed to get in touch with the homeland regularly (PAIR/Čok/4, 6/7/43). In fact, there is not proof that Rudolf had such a connection, but most certainly he had an insight into reports coming from Yugoslavia and Slovenia respectively, as on the night of 17 and 18 March 1943, the ISLD organisation managed to send their first double mission called "Equinox" to Primorska (three parachutists came to the Slovene Chetniks and three parachutists to the Slovene Partisans). We should mention here, of course, that those members of the mission who came to the Partisans proposed, during their hearing by the Partisan security service VOS, that the Partisans should have given them directives and messages to be transmitted by radio to Rudolf in Cairo (Škerl, 1978, 343; MLA/1995/10, 236).

Let us also quote what Rudolf communicated to Drago Marušič about Albert Rejec in May 1941: "*Berti* (Albert Rejec, author's comment) *se je javil pred poldrugim letom po neki misteriozni poti ne da bi navedel, kje biva in kaj dela. Prosil je za pomoč, ki mu je pa nismo mogli nuditi, ker nismo vedeli kam naj jo pošljemo.*" ["Berti sent a word a year and a half ago through a mysterious channel and he never mentioned where he stayed and what he had been undertaking. He asked for help which we could not provide because we did not know where to send it to"] (PAIR/Čok/1, 21/5/44).

From the abovementioned situations, it becomes clear that Rudolf and Čok's communication with the occupied Yugoslavia was quite trying. In general, the news from Yugoslavia was contradictory and misleading, as was the case, for example, with information the British received from their first missions (e.g. Bill Hudson's "Bullseye" mission in September 1941, "Henna" mission, etc.). They were aware at the SOE that their information, in particular on Slovenia and Croatia, was deficient, so they were looking for their information anywhere. They considered important and welcome the information obtained at hearings of Slovene prisoners of war who arrived in the Near East. Several Yugoslav prisoners of war were heard by Rudolf who not only knew the language but also the places from where those men came. He learnt many things from them, but the information could not be checked, and for this reason, the Partisan movement and its activities in Slovenia were attributed frequently to Slovene Chetniks (PRO HS 5/919, 9a/12/42; 9b/12/42; 11/12/42). Rudolf helped the British as an interpreter and a teacher of Slovene language to some British officers. In fact, he was called at least once a day to report at SOE, the Yugoslav Army headquarters and sometimes also at the Yugoslav Embassy in Cairo. Rudolf complained, because he had to cover all his travel expenses. The Embassy was always

evading this matter, claiming that London should have taken care of financial covering. Rudolf asked Čok many times to intervene in London with regard to such and other financial matters related to propaganda (e.g. PAIR/Čok/1, 16/11/41). In October 1942, the SOE wrote very favourably about Rudolf, among other things, that he had managed to remain politically neutral in spite of numerous intrigues in the Yugoslav government and Army. They knew also about his cooperation with James Miller who was in charge of the MI6 and ISLD services there (PRO HS 7/267, 317, 318; HS 7/230, 3517). Rudolf himself informed Čok that he had established close contacts with British Captain M (Miller, author's comment), who had given him his connection with London at his disposal, so he believed that their correspondence would be easier. However, until then, Rudolf had received only two letters from Čok, while Rudolf sent many letters but he was not certain whether Čok had received them all (PAIR/Čok/1, 28/2/42).

In 1942 and 1943, SOE wanted to enhance their operations in Slovenia and for that reason they tried to coordinate MI6 activities. In view of their (more or less successful) attempts, they intended to maintain close relations with Rudolf and send a message to a safe address in Ljubljana through MI6, directing them to gather a group to be trained and sent to Istanbul and then back to Slovenia. This was never realized, as there was no consensus as to whether Čok should participate in that operation (Biber, 1983, 502). In May 1942, SOE asked Rudolf how to infiltrate their informants into Slovenia. Rudolf had already selected two Slovene candidates from SOE (Stanislav Simčič and Alojz Černigoj), but the mission was never sent because they did not have an adequate airplane to drop both candidates (PRO HS 5/919, 20/5/42; HS 5/905, 22a/5/42; 22b/5/42; 25/5/42; 28/5/42; 1/6/42; 16/6/42; PAIR/Čok/1, 4/4/42; 7/4/42; Biber, 1999, 150, 151). In May 1942, Rudolf informed Čok that a new group had been prepared to be sent on mission and that there had been some initiatives, without the knowledge of the Yugoslav government in exile, to finally send a mission to Slovenia (PAIR/Čok/1, 23/5/42).

Let us also mention here that SOE hoped to re-establish their connections with Carinthia (and Styria), where already before the occupation of Yugoslavia, as earlier mentioned, an organized group of Slovenes (TIGR and similar organisations) managed to carry out some important sabotage actions. After the occupation of Yugoslavia it appeared for some time that Rudolf could provide the required candidates, but in April 1942 it became clear that he had not managed to get any suitable candidates among the Slovenes in Cairo. For that reason, he tried to find them among the soldiers of the Yugoslav battalion where Slovenes were in the majority. SOE in London did send a certain number of Austrians for training as radio operators and saboteurs,

but soon they gave up their plan for an indefinite period because they doubted in its success. However, SOE still considered the Slovene organisation, headed by Rudolf, as indispensable with regard to the infiltration of trained agents to Austria (PRO HS 7/233, 4069-4071). When in the end of November 1942, Bailey was planning his visit to Mihailović, he met with Rudolf who was very keen on a plan to send three or four Slovenes from Primorska to Mihailović's headquarters, from where they would proceed to Slovenia, providing that Mihailović had reliable and regular channels with Slovenia. It seems that the plan failed completely (Biber, 1983, 503).

The attempts of SOE and ISLD to send their missions to Slovenia dragged on until spring 1943, when the ISLD organisation managed to send their first mission to Slovenia. The most suitable people for the first "reconnoitring" missions to Slovenia were Slovene men selected by Rudolf. Both ISLD and SOE expected his assistance in the selection of suitable parachutists for the first mission to Slovenia. Let us examine, how the selection of volunteers was carried out.

SELECTION OF SLOVENE VOLUNTEERS FOR SOE AND ISLD

As already said, Rudolf was organizing the selection of volunteers, and also did the selection himself, from prisoner-of-war camps for the Yugoslav Army on behalf of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy. He was successful, although the expectations were a bit higher. From amongst those volunteers for the Yugoslav Army, SOE and ISLD selected most of the Slovene members of their missions.

While the first attempts at volunteer recruiting for the liberation of Yugoslavia by Yugoslavs in USA and Canada failed, the members of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy had good results in the ME and in Africa in particular (Palestine, Alexandria, Genejfa, Suez, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Somalia). A close collaborator of Rudolf's and a member of the Committee, Dr. Miran Rybář, went even to India but he did not get many volunteers there. We do not have an exact number of the volunteers gathered, but if we compare the data in archives examined, we can estimate that there were from 4,000 to 4,500 volunteers of Slovene and Croatian nationality recruited for the Yugoslav Army.

SOE and ISLD provided great help in collecting volunteers (e.g. PAIR/8, 21/5/44; AS 1931/AOS, 182, 183; PRO HS 5/904, March 1942) while the members of the Yugoslav government were causing troubles. The relations between the Yugoslav Army, the Government and the Yugoslav Committee in Italy were always tense and never completely transparent.

Obviously, the collaboration of Rudolf, Čok and the others with the British secret services did not suit everybody. Thus, it is evident from some post-war recon-

structions prepared by OZNA/UDBA that Rudolf and Rybář were in constant contact with a representative of SOE, John Bennet, and a representative of ISLD, James Miller. The head of the Yugoslav intelligence service, major Milovan Glogorijević, even protested about that to Bennet and Miller – as though Rudolf and Milan Rybář had not been authorized – but nothing changed (AS 1931/Furlan, 7495). In spite of that, according to Rudolf's observations, the representatives of SOE in Cairo were becoming more reserved by the end of October 1941, especially Masterson and Bennet, who were not supposed to do anything without prior consultation with the representatives of the Yugoslav government. That hindered the activities, which the Committee wished to accelerate as much as possible (PAIR/Čok/1, 20/10/41).

For this reason, Rudolf relied more on the assistance of ISLD with which he collaborated more intensively anyway. For example, Rudolf proposed to the Yugoslav command that they should decorate four British officers who had already and could have also further helped in the military and political way in the recruitment of volunteers. Those were the chief commander of prisoner-of-war camps, colonel R. Venables, a member of ISLD and the head Office, captain J.B. Millar, a commander of prisoner-of-war camp No. 308, lieutenant G. Salapata and a member of ISLD and the Head Office, lieutenant D. L. Clarke (PAIR/4, 28/12/42). It is evident that ISLD often offered help to Rudolf and the Committee, and it is interesting in this connection that in the Christmas season Rudolf received a letter of thanks, though signed illegibly, from a Britisher because he had presented certain officers with some Chianti red wine. The letter praised Rudolf and his other fellow countryman for always being good collaborators (PAIR/Čok/1, 22/12/42). Probably, ISLD helped Rudolf and Rybář also financially as it seems that the Yugoslav government in exile was of little assistance in that matter.

From among the collected volunteers, SOE and ISLD then selected some especially for their missions. They were supplemented by those selected in London by representatives of the strongest pre-war Slovene party, the Slovenska ljudska stranka (Slovene People's Party), which was in political opposition to Rudolf and Čok in particular, because he was a liberal. It should be pointed out that the politicians of the Slovene People's Party in general had a negative attitude towards some liberals, especially Čok, because they reproached him with stubbornness, collaboration with the British secret services and freemasonry.

As early as on 19 August 1941, there was a special school established in Haifa, Palestine, more precisely, in a monastery on the Mount Carmel, for the needs of SOE. The school was called Special Training Centre 102. According to English sources, Section B1, i.e. the SOE for Yugoslavia, managed to send candidates for Slovenia

and Serbia only in March 1943 (PRO HS 7/219, 1387; HS 7/220, 1475, 1476; HS 5/874, 22/9/41; HS 5/908, 30/3/43; compare AS 1931/AOS, 331). However, according to the memory of Slovene members of SOE, they were sent there already at the end of 1941 (MLA/1995/5-6, 113; MLA/1998/4, 99). Most likely the Centre was officially managed by ISLD until March 1943, and SOE only took part in it.

In December 1941, SOE started to collect volunteers for the Yugoslav King's Battalion in Agama by Alexandria where the volunteers that the Yugoslav Committee in Italy had helped collect were stationed. They advised them to go to Yugoslavia and join the guerrillas there. The invitation was first meant for Yugoslav officers, but their response was weak as only two of them volunteered. Later, almost all non-commissioned officers responded to the call: 33 soldiers and non-commissioned officers reported from various units but because they were too many, only some of them were selected. Amongst the Slovenes, seven entered in SOE training: Ivo Božič, Alojz Černigoj, Valter Gorjanc, Stanko Simčič, Cvetko Šuligoj, Marjan Fegec in Anton Zupan (MLA/1995/5-6, 112; MLA/1997/7, 136; MLA/2000/5, 119). All but Zupan were from Primorska.

In April 1942, ISLD formed its first group of Slovenes in Cairo. The following ten were then sent on a mission: Josip Dolenc-Pepi, Miroslav Križmančič, Radoslav Semolič, Nikolaj Sever-Jug, Vencelj Ferjančič-Adam, Anton Božnar-Blaž, Bojan (Bogomir) Koler-Rejc later called Črtomir, Alojz Sivec, Leopold Širca and Ivan Paron (MLA/1997/2-3, 56, 57). Except Božnar, they were also all from Primorska. We could add also Rado Teslić (MLA/1995/1, 9; AS 1931/AOS, 332), but we do not know yet whether the ISLD used him on a mission.

In January 1943, the ISLD formed the second group of Slovenes in Cairo. Three of them were sent on a mission. They were: Franc Vidrih Mali later called Lozej, Miloš Adamič and Alojz Knez (MLA/1997/2-3, 57). The first two were from Primorska, while Knez was from Carinthia and before the War he had collaborated with TIGR.

At the end of March 1943, the SOE in Cairo was satisfied with the training of recruits for missions to Yugoslavia (PRO HS 5/919, 31/3/43).

In September 1943, ISLD moved to Bari where its official name was changed to N. 11(U) Section and there they formed the third group of Slovenes. Seven were then sent on missions. They were: Ciril Kobal-Bevk alias Yane, Andrej Škerjanc-Likon, Milan Golob-Čok, Ivan Volarič-Potočnik, Milan Boštjančič-Benko alias Mirko Debeljak, Ivan Mikuž-Vremec and Zvonko alias Zvonimir Jelen-Anton (MLA/1997/2-3, 57). All but Jelen were from Primorska.

By the beginning of 1944, the Yugoslav Committee in Italy had 14 people at the disposal of ISLD (PAIR/4, beginning of January 1944) and the British sent most of

them on missions. It seems that from then on the Committee stopped recruiting new volunteers for British special missions.

According to the information available, at least 21 selected and trained Slovene volunteers took part in special operations in the framework of ISLD and at least seven in the framework of SOE. Besides them there were also some other Slovenes but we do not know with certainty where they were recruited and trained – most probably in Canada and England. Therefore, the total number of Slovenes who were members of British missions was approximately 35. The majority was selected with the assistance of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy.

As mentioned earlier, SOE and ISLD had problems in the beginning due to the lack of suitable candidates for special operations. The shortage was partly caused also by their quality. Namely, SOE and ISLD needed only such collaborators who would know the languages of the places where they were sent on a mission: they had to be familiar with political and economic circumstances in the occupied territory, they had to be generally well-trained and prepared to take risks, they had to be courageous, ingenious, motivated, intelligent and broadly educated. It was desirable that the candidates were unmarried, or at least that their wives and children were not in the territories controlled by the Axis Powers (e.g. PRO HS 6/888, 29/11/41; 3/12/41; HS 7/224, 2401, 2402; HS 5/877, 23/11/42; HS 5/907, 23/12/42; AS 1931/ AOS, 328, 329; Stafford, 2000, 177; Vidic, 1989, 43-45).

A majority of Slovene volunteers who were selected for special operations and underwent the required courses demonstrated great abilities. Thus, in February 1943, Rudolf suggested to the commander of Yugoslav Army in the ME that he promote some of those who had passed the courses. By their names we know that they were ISLD members: Josip Dolenc, Radoslav Semolič, Miroslav Križmančič, Venceslav Ferjančič, Alojz Sivec, Alojz Širca (PAIR/4, 1/2/43). Other Slovenes in ISLD and those who worked for SOE also proved themselves. Descriptions of their characters (who worked for SOE) and main qualities are preserved in short personal dossiers and other reports, which the leaders of special operations prepared when planning the missions because they wanted to make sure that they were sending off really suitable and trained parachutists. For example, in these dossiers we can read such characteristics as that a candidate was a skilled radio operator (for the wireless telegraphy) and trained in parachuting or that he was well-trained for sabotage and in addition we can also find some appreciative remarks with regard to their

abilities to use weapons, drive large motor vehicles, knowledge of topography and the like. Slovenes were especially interesting because they knew the languages and places to where they were intended to be sent; not insignificant were also the remarks on their physical preparedness as well as on their intelligence, general adaptability, etc. The fact that SOE and ISLD were sending the trained candidates mainly on the missions to Primorska, which they knew best, is also significant (ref. PRO HS 5/917; HS 5/919, 9/12/42; HS 5/920, 2/7/43; MLA/2000/5, 118, 119).

The popularity that Rudolf enjoyed among Slovene volunteers was another important factor. In published memoirs and evidence (MLA) of Slovene volunteers to ISLD and SOE, we can notice a very respectful attitude towards him. They showed esteem for him also publicly (e.g. Rudolf, 1996, 64-67; Cenčič, 1997, 267-269; MLA/2002, 16). They had every confidence in him also because of his efforts in editing a newspaper with the significant title of *Bazovica*.¹² The paper, which was published in Cairo as a bulletin of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy from 30 September 1941 to 19 November 1944 in 135 issues, was at last a chance for many volunteers to be able to read in the Slovene language after Fascism had banned the use of Slovene language in Primorska. The evidence indicates that frequently Slovene soldiers reached for volumes of a review entitled *Štorska knjižica*. It was edited by Rudolf as well, between 1942 and 1945, when a total of 23 issues were published.

In addition, Rudolf always strived to improve the living conditions of volunteers. At the end of 1942 he intervened with the Yugoslav colonel Miodrag Rakić and succeeded in ensuring that they were given more food and some cigarettes, and the Yugoslav Red Cross supplied them with underwear, soap, marmalade, honey, etc. In his talks with the commander of Yugoslav troops in the ME he ensured that the volunteers were given some pay and better food. In a new assembly camp at El Tahag, he agreed with the commander there, among other things, that a priest, Jozafat Ambrožič, would say mass every Sunday. Such a status of volunteers that ensured better conditions terminated on 30 November 1942 (PAIR/4, 8/12/42; PAIR/Čok/1, 1/2/43) when the Yugoslav Army became increasingly opposed to Rudolf.

The relations were strained even more the following year. Thus, on 27 August 1943, general Peter Živković banned any further collection of volunteers without any prior consultation with the Committee. Rudolf informed the British Army Headquarters about that and severed

12 Bazovica lies to the north-east of Trieste. In September 1930, four Slovenes were shot there. They were members of the Trieste branch of the TIGR secret organisation, which was called Borba. They were sentenced by fascist Special Court for Defence of the State (Tribunale speciale per la difesa dello Stato) for their terrorist activities. For Slovenes, Bazovica has been since a deeply felt symbol of struggle for their rights.

relations with the Yugoslav command. Moreover, Rudolf reported to one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy who remained in Yugoslavia, Dr. Drago Marušič, that the Yugoslav command, in addition their prohibitions, were providing the British with false statements. Rudolf claimed that the British had not believed this because he had received many letters of thanks from various British commands. The examined archives, however, did not contain these letters, but it holds true that Rudolf went to collect volunteers again in Algeria and Tunisia and that time with the explicit purpose of including them in British special operations. It is most probable that the British supported him in spite of the criticisms from the representative of the Yugoslav Army (PAIR/4, beginning of January 1944; PAIR/8, 21/5/44, AS 1931/Furlan, 7341).

The recruitment of volunteers continued for some more months, but the disagreement between the Yugoslav Committee in Italy and the Yugoslav Army was getting ever more serious. At the end of 1943, it led to a crisis amongst the volunteers themselves, who then mostly joined the Overseas Brigades. At that time, the Yugoslav Committee in Italy was in a critical situation. Čok and Rudolf in particular were criticised by both sides – the Chetnik-oriented Yugoslav government and the Partisan propaganda. In addition, the support of British secret services ran out considerably.

SLOVENES IN SOE AND ISLD MISSIONS¹³

It remains to give a short review of SOE and ISLD missions in Slovenia. Not all SOE and ISLD missions and official military missions are mentioned in this paper, but only those in which Slovenes participated. In the beginning, the role of Slovene members in the missions was mainly of a "reconnoitring" nature, as it was important to the British to form the first connections in the field and for which Slovene parachutists were suitable. They were useful also in the very delicate job of transmitting and receiving messages through radio, and others were active as saboteurs and they passed their knowledge on Partisans. Because they knew languages, they were frequently used as interpreters.

After several attempts by the SOE organisation to send a mission also to Slovenia in 1942 and 1943 (in that period SOE managed to send missions to other parts of Yugoslavia) they were overtaken by ISLD, who on the night of 17 and 18 March 1943 dropped on Slovenia their first mission "Equinox". The mission consisted of two groups of three men. The members of the first group who went to the Slovene Chetniks were Anton Božnar, Vencelj Ferjančič and Bojan Koler. In the second group, which joined the Partisans, there were Miroslav

Križmančič, Radoslav Semolič and Nikolaj Sever. With the help of this mission, on the night of 20 and 21 June 1943, the first Allies aid consignment managed to reach Slovene territory, that is the Partisans in Primorska.

On the night of 17 and 18 July 1943, the SOE finally managed to send their first mission to Slovenia, that is, to Primorska. This was a mission named "Livingstone I", consisting of Stanko Simčič and Ivo Božič. They were accompanied by two members of ISLD, Zdravko Lenščak, who was the chief of the whole mission, and Alojz Sivec.

On 17 August 1943, three SOE parachutists – Valter Gorjanc, Alojz Černigoj and Cvetko Šuligoj – landed in the surroundings of Nanos mountain, on the Javornik plateau near Col in Primorska. The mission was called "Tennyson". ISLD sent along two Slovenes, Leopold Širca and Franc Vidrih. Later on, the mission became a part of the "Livingstone II" mission and at the end of September 1943, the whole operation was named "Crayon".

On 18 September 1943, the ISLD sent a new mission to Slovenia, consisting of two men – Miloš Adamič and Alojz Knez – who landed above Čepovan in Primorska. The mission can be traced in SOE documents under the name "Livingstone", and it is very difficult to distinguish it from other SOE missions with the same name. A possible explanation could be that by then there was considerable cooperation between ISLD and SOE.

SOE planned to send another five missions to Slovenia in October 1943 but only one was actually carried out, on 2 October, when captain Davies and Marjan Fegec, in the framework of the "Flotsam I" mission, landed near the Hrib village in Notranjska.

In late February 1944, ISLD sent a radio operator Ciril Kobal by ship from Bari via Vis and Dugi otok, where he became a radio operator at the headquarters of the 3rd Maritime Littoral Sector.

On 10 May 1944, the ISLD parachuted their mission "Bordeaux" to the IX Corps at Dol pri Čepovanu in Primorska. The group consisted of Major Nigel Watson who remained the chief of the mission until November 1944, and Josip Dolenc, who became an interpreter with the IX Corps. Another radio operator, Sergeant Marlow joined them later. On 9 June 1944, Ivan Mikuž reached the IX Corps and he became a radio operator of the Allies mission there.

On the night of 9 and 10 June 1944, Major Woods and Corporal Collins arrived at Čepovan in Primorska, accompanied by two Slovenes from Primorska who were sent by the ISLD. They were an instructor Zvonko Jelen and a radio operator Ivan Mikuž.

At the end of June 1944, the ISLD sent radio operators Milan Golob and Ivan Volarič from Bari by ship via

13 Besides the stated, most data can be obtained in: PRO HS 5/908; HS 5/910; HS 5/911; AS 1931/AVM; Biber 1983; Biber, 1991; MLA; Vidic, 1989.

Vis and Dugi otok to Istria. Milan Boštjančič was sent by submarine and he got ashore in Istria where he joined the headquarters of the Istrian Partisan Detachment. Some days before July 1944, the ISLD sent another Slovene radio operator, Andrej Škerjanc-Likon, from Bari to the units of the 4th Yugoslav Army in Dalmatia. Those were the last British missions including Slovene members. Later, the British were sending only their own people, but some Slovene parachutists, who were in the field earlier, continued to collaborate with them for some time.

CONCLUSIONS

Slovenes from Primorska had been collaborating with British secret services already before the attack by the Axis Powers on Yugoslavia and they continued their work after the occupation. Most active were the leading members of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy (its principal mission was the unification of the entire Primorska with Yugoslavia, as after the First World War the whole of Primorska was under Italy, which treated Slovenes there really badly) who operated in exile during the War – Dr. Ivan Marija Čok, Prof. Ivan Rudolf, Dr. Miran Rybář and some young men from Primorska, who were mobilised forcibly into the Italian Army and later captured by the British and trained for special SOE and ISLD missions.

The collaboration of these Slovenes from Primorska with the SOE and ISLD was very important because these two British secret services for special operations had considerable problems at the beginning of the occupation of Yugoslavia in restoring the operations of secret and intelligence service posts there and with despatching their special missions, through which they were supposed to stimulate and coordinate the resistance movement.

Before the occupation of Yugoslavia, Čok and Rudolf had agreed with the British secret services, within the scope of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy, to collaborate

with them during the War and so the British had helped them, preventively, to go into exile on 5 March 1942, and to flee to the Middle East. Their collaboration entailed mainly the establishment of connections with, and gathering of information from the occupied Yugoslavia, as well as the collection of suitable Slovene men from prisoner-of-war camps to be trained and sent on special missions to the occupied territory.

In Africa, the collection of volunteers and their training and motivating (the role of the *Bazovica* newspaper is significant here) was performed mainly by Rudolf, while Rybář was collecting them also in India. In that period, Čok was in charge of the political side of the operations of the Yugoslav Committee in Italy, particularly in London and the USA, where he intervened frequently in order to improve the conditions of recruiting volunteers in prisoner-of-war camps.

Of all selected and trained volunteers, at least 22 were assigned for special operations within the ISLD and at least seven within the SOE. There were some other Slovenes beside them but we do not know with certainty where they came from and where they were trained – most probably in Canada or England. Therefore, the total number of Slovenes who took part in British missions is approximately 35, and most of them were selected by the Yugoslav Committee in Italy. From spring 1943 on, the British were sending them to Yugoslavia, mainly to the Slovene territory and for the most part to Primorska. In the beginning, their role was of a more "reconnoitring" nature, as it was very important to the British to establish first connections in the field, for which the Slovene parachutists were most suitable. They were also very useful in the very delicate activity of transmitting and receiving messages through radio transmitters, some of them acted as saboteurs and they passed their knowledge over to the Partisans. Because of their knowledge of languages they were often employed as interpreters. The Allies came to know better the real situation in the occupied territories also through Slovene members of their missions.

SODELOVANJE SLOVENCEV PRIMORSKE S SPECIAL OPERATIONS EXECUTIVE IN INTER-SERVICES LIAISON DEPARTMENT PO ZASEDBI JUGOSLAVIJE (6. APRIL 1941)

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POVZETEK

Nekateri primorski Slovenci so z britanskimi obveščevalnimi in tajnimi službami, s Special Operations Executive (SOE) in Inter-Services Liaison Department (ISLD), sodelovali že pred napadom sil osi na Jugoslavijo, in sicer v boju proti nacistični Nemčiji in proti fašistični Italiji, in so to nadaljevali tudi po okupaciji. Zlasti aktivni so bili vodilni člani Jugoslovanskega odbora iz Italije. Ta odbor je imel prvenstveno nalogo delovati za priključitev celotne Primorske k Jugoslaviji, ki je bila po prvi svetovni vojni v celoti pod Italijo. Med vojno so v emigraciji delovali dr. Ivan Marija Čok, prof. Ivan Rudolf in dr. Miran Rybář ter nekateri mladi primorski fantje, ki so bili prisilno mobilizirani v italijansko vojsko in so jih Britanci ujeli.

Čok in Rudolf sta bila v okviru Jugoslovanskega odbora iz Italije pred zasedbo Jugoslavije domenjena z britanskimi obveščevalnimi in tajnimi službami, da bosta med vojno sodelovala, zato sta tudi z njihovo pomočjo dne 5. marca 1941 preventivno zbežala in se zatekla na Bližnji vzhod. To sodelovanje se je nato med vojno kazalo pri iskanju zvez in informacij z zasedeno Jugoslavijo ter pri zbiranju primernih Slovencev po ujetništvih, ki so jih SOE in ISLD izurili in poslali s posebnimi misijami v Jugoslavijo.

Zbiranje prostovoljcev kot tudi njihovo urjenje in spodbujanje je večinoma po Afriki opravljal Rudolf, Rybář pa jih je zbiral tudi po Indiji. Čok je medtem skrbel za politično plat delovanja Jugoslovanskega odbora iz Italije, zlasti v Londonu in ZDA, kjer je večkrat posredoval za izboljšanje razmer iskanja po taboriščih.

Od vseh izbranih in izvežbanih prostovoljcev jih je vsaj 22 odšlo v posebne operacije v sklopu ISLD in vsaj 7 v sklopu SOE. Poleg teh so bili še nekateri drugi Slovenci, za katere pa še ni povsem jasno, kje so jih dobili in izurili, najverjetneje v Kanadi ali Angliji. Skupno število Slovencev, ki so bili člani britanskih misij, je bilo približno 35 in večino izmed njih je zbral Jugoslovanski odbor iz Italije. Britanci so jih od spomladi 1943 dalje poslali v Jugoslavijo, predvsem na slovensko ozemlje, še največ ravno na Primorsko.

Ključne besede: SOE, ISLD, vojaške misije, Slovenija, Jugoslavija, druga svetovna vojna, Ivan Rudolf, Ivan Marija Čok, TIGR

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THE LAST GREAT MIGRATION WAVE FROM KOPER AND ITS SURROUNDINGS AND AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE EMIGRANTS' SOCIAL PICTURE

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ABSTRACT

Almost a decade had passed from the time world politics entered the Gulf of Trieste at the end of World War II to the signing of the London Memorandum at the end of 1954. During this time the boundary between Yugoslavia and Italy was being demarcated by small policy steps which, however, brought fear and uncertainty to the people living in the crossborder areas. This fact eventually caused numerous migrations by the inhabitants of Istria and Dalmatia, particularly of the Italian nationality. On the basis of statistical data gathered with the aid of the documents submitted by these people in the hope that a permit to leave the country would be obtained, this paper attempts to present a social picture of the last migration wave from Koper and its surroundings. Professions, employment, form of movable and fixed property are the factors with which the paper wishes to disclose the social conditions in which the optants lived and thus to find answers to the numerous questions presently raised about these migrations by various academic disciplines as well as by the public.

Key words: migrations, exodus, social picture, multiethnic territory, delineation of the boundary

L'ULTIMA GRANDE ONDATA MIGRATORIA DA CAPODISTRIA E I SUOI DINTORNI, E UN TENTATIVO DI RICOSTRUZIONE DEL QUADRO SOCIALE DEGLI EMIGRANTI

SINTESI

È trascorsa quasi una decade da quando la politica mondiale ha cominciato ad interessare il Golfo di Trieste, alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale, fino alla firma del Memorandum di Londra, alla fine del 1954. Durante questo periodo il confine tra la Jugoslavia e l'Italia veniva demarcato con piccole mosse politiche che, tuttavia, causavano paure ed incertezze nella popolazione residente nelle zone di confine. Tale situazione causò numerose migrazioni da parte degli abitanti dell'Istria e della Dalmazia, in particolare quelli di nazionalità italiana. In base ai dati statistici raccolti attraverso i documenti inoltrati da queste persone nella speranza di ottenere un permesso per lasciare il paese, questo articolo tenta di fornire un quadro sociale dell'ultima ondata migratoria da Capodistria e i suoi dintorni. Le professioni, gli impieghi, le forme di proprietà mobili e immobili sono i fattori con cui questo saggio intende illustrare le condizioni sociali in cui gli optanti vivevano, per poter così rispondere alle numerose domande, circa queste migrazioni, sollevate recentemente da varie discipline accademiche e dal pubblico.

Parole chiave: migrazioni, esodo, quadro sociale, territorio multietnico, demarcazione del confine

INTRODUCTION

Due to various migrations and military campaigns the territory situated at the head of the Adriatic began to acquire a very interesting history quite early in its existence. Admixing of the old that was rooted in small stony settlements of Istria, and the new that kept coming in along various land and water routes, was reminiscent of a wild dance between the northeasterly *bora* and the sea. In these unpredictable gusts, places were changed by quite diverse civilisations, cultures, religions, and political and economic systems. When nation-states began to spring up in the mid-19th century, the concept of a nation brought a new dimension, the notion of national superiority, into this territory. And the effect of this superiority was fully unveiled with the origin of extreme nationalist systems, which sparked World War II and whose course and actual end were marked by new shifts of the population in this part of the world.

The most diverse migrations have till today remained, like "a complex phenomenon, which includes a wide range of facts, dimensions and aspects and cannot be fully grasped with a single approach of a single scientific discipline" (Battistella, 1991, 1), one of the major driving forces for all the changes in our environment. Numerous researchers have tried to understand the significance of the demographic shifts in this area, the impact and consequences, and therefore tried to uncover, with all possible scientific approaches, the dynamics of this process. The interdisciplinary approach is particularly perceivable in the reconstruction of the Istrians migration to Italy after World War II, by Slovene, Italian and other historians, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, psychologists, ethnologists and linguists (Gombač, 2001).

THE ATTEMPTS TO RECONSTRUCT THE SOCIAL PICTURE OF THOSE WHO LEFT

The studies of political conditions, demographic changes and economic aspects of this migration were soon joined by various attempts to reconstruct the social outline of the people who migrated in a number of waves after World War II from Istria, Rijeka and Dalmatia (Pupo, 2000). As early as 1958, i.e. only two years after the end of the last great migration wave, a group of researchers led by Amedeo Collela tried to count all those who had left for Italy after World War II from the territory they simply named "terre adriatiche". With this term they attempted to embrace all the places which after 1954 found themselves on the Yugoslav side of the boundary with Italy. In their work they tried to determine the social picture, at least partially, by counting the professions of the emigrants; and they established that 5.7% of them had been employed as freelancers, 17.6% as civil servants and officials, 7.7% as tradesmen,

and 45.6% as workers. No less than 23.4% of the emigrants were represented by women, children and the elder population (Collela, 1958). Only a year earlier a study had been carried out by request of the Executive Council of the Parliament of the People's Republic of Slovenia; it was limited to the Koper District and its aim was to study the situation in which the Italian minority found itself there. It was established that 16,062 people had left the Koper District between October, 1953 and December, 1956. Most of these were housewives (5,862), then there were workers (2,159), farmers (1,300), tradesmen (414), fishermen (387), sailors (362) and pensioners (265) (Tremul, 2001). More recent research, which was led in 1992 by Furio Bednarz from the Regional Institute of Istrian Culture (IRCI) in Trieste and was focused mainly on Istria, indicated that among the emigrants 0.9% were businessmen and officials, 14.1% were merchants and tradesmen, 11.2% civil servants and petty bourgeoisie, 10.9% farmers and fishermen, and 11.9% workers. No less than 49.6% of them were unemployed and 1.3% were pensioners (Pupo, 1995).

In 1980, a group of five authors gathered under the auspices of the Regional Institute for the Liberation Movement's History in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region under the leadership of Prof. Miccoli to prepare the booklet entitled "Storia di un Esodo", which has till this very day remained one of the basic works for the study of the Istrian and Dalmatian emigrants' social picture. The greatest value of the booklet lies primarily in the fact that it was the first to cease treating the refugees as numbers and returned to them a human face (Miccoli et al., 1980). Also worth mentioning is the project "The population's movements and social changes in the Trieste province and the Koper district after World War II", which was given financial support by the European Union, or, to be precise, by its Regional Development Fund, and eventually carried out by the Department of Geographical and Historical Research of the University in Trieste. With the aid of a computer programme, the researchers analysed the files belonging to the refugee organisation "Opera Profugi" and kept in the National Archives in Rome. These files contain censuses covering the emigrants from Istria and Dalmatia after 1945, eventually located by this organisation in Italy. As the censuses are rich with details, a social outline of all those covered by the censuses could have been made. There were presumably 16,674 of them, with the majority of them – no less than half – unemployed. They were mainly farmers, wives, workers and seamen (Donato, 2001).

Similar investigations were carried out in Slovenia, where they were based on the study of the sources available in Slovene and Yugoslav archives. The present research is a continuation of the master's thesis entitled "Sociological Aspects of Migrations Along the Slovene-

Italian Boundary after World War II", published in an abridged version by the journal *Annales* (Gombač, 2001).

GREAT POLITICS IN A SMALL BAY

If after World War I the great politics symbolically reached the Gulf of Trieste and its immediate hinterland on the Italian torpedo boat "Audace", then at the end of World War II it arrived, by foot, or, to be precise, came marching in accompanied by Yugoslav and Slovene troops of the 4th Army and the 9th Corps, as well as by units of the 2nd New Zealand Division of the 8th British Army (Gombač, 1997). However, the Western allies had to bite off their tongues after the promises given to the Italians during the signing of the truce in spring, 1943, that they would liberate Italy within its integral boundaries and introduce an allied military administration which should function until an international conference (already planned) took place. Namely, it became clear to them that during the talks held at Lago di Bolsena near Naples in August, 1944, the Yugoslav delegation headed by Tito comprehended in its very own way the arguments by which Harold Alexander, British field marshal, and Winston Churchill, the prime minister, made it clear that the Allies intended to occupy the entire territory of the former Italian state to the very Rapallo frontiers (Jeri, 1961). Their main reasons, as stated, were the opposition of the United States' to any territorial change while the war was still going on, a need to get enough manoeuvring room for their military units, and a need to fulfil the promises given to the Italian state.

The partisan units, however, occupied all those areas in Slovenia, Istria, and Dalmatia that Italy wished to get from the Austro-Hungarian empire in April, 1915 in London and which it eventually extorted, after signing the Rapallo treaty in November, 1920, from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then drove away the German troops from almost the entire Venezia Giulia region. The Yugoslav occupational military authority was soon followed by civil authority (Marin, 1992, 163). The Allies did not approve of this development of events, for "they were aware that any delaying tactics connected with the Yugoslav occupation of these territories would mean certain weakening of their negotiating positions and would increase the possibility for this temporary occupation turning into a permanent one" (Troha, 1999, 23). In order to get the Yugoslavs out of Trieste, they exerted great pressure on them via political persuasion, diplomatic notes and movements of military contingents. The Yugoslav Army indeed moved out of the town on June 12th, 1945, while the territory of Julijska Krajina (Giulia region) was divided into two occupation zones: Anglo-American (Zone A) and Yugoslav (Zone B). The border between them ran along the out-

skirts of large towns, from Debeli Rtič to Trieste, Sesljan, and Štanjel, then descended down the railway line to Gorizia and eventually rose, along the left bank of the Soča river to Kobarid and Bovec, and along the left bank of the Koritnica river to Mt. Mangart. The town of Pula and its port became a unique enclave of Zone A in the middle of Zone B (Mendola, Russian, 1996, 50).

The frequent diplomatic endeavours and behind-the-scene encounters for a more lasting solution of this complex issue continued. In September, 1945, when Yugoslavs and Italians presented their views and proposals for solving the accumulated problems in this small part of Europe before the Council of the Great Powers' foreign ministers in London, it became clear that this knot would not be untangled for years, for it was being increasingly tightened by the stronger and stronger winds of the Cold War. The international commissions sent to the area to establish who is entitled to this and that part of the land, returned with contradictory plans concerning the new boundary (Jeri, 1962).

At the Paris Peace Conference there was no true will for the Yugoslav and Italian politicians to agree, under the patronage of the Great Powers, on a more far-reaching solution. The French line as a border compromise between the two states and the proposal by Georges Bidault, the Foreign Minister, to internationalise Trieste and its territory by establishing a "buffer state" called the Free Territory of Trieste under the United Nations and Governor's administration thus became just another of the many steps along this difficult path (Pirjevec, 1998). The Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was divided into Zone A under the Allied Military Administration and Zone B under Yugoslav Administration. "Zone A FTT enclosed, apart from the Trieste Council, the Councils of Devin – Nabrežina, Zgonik, Dolina and Milje, while Zone B FTT embraced the Koper and Buje Districts" (Troha, 2000, 209).

However, this multinational state, divided into two zones, could not begin functioning. Owing to the fact that Trieste was cut off from its once huge Central European hinterland, from the great routes of trade and investments, the town was falling into increasingly greater crisis, which was further deepened by the high as well as the much lower politics of the powers involved. By June, 1947, the great powers proposed 12 candidates for the office of Governor, but all were rejected. Another 5 proposals followed, yet again without success.

THE COMPROMISE OR "A HUGE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS SYMBIOSIS BETWEEN THE NATIONS"

In the 1950s, the conditions intensified both in Zone A, where irrespective of the agreements and the Slovene minority, the Allied Military Administration continued to methodically return full authority to the Italians, and in Zone B, where the Military Administration of the Yugo-

slav Army (MAYA) continued to enforce, by fair means or foul, the so-called people's government. The latter met with opposition by the Italian nationals in Istria and Dalmatia, who again began to migrate in great numbers.

After the Italian elections in early June 1953, Italy resolved to solve, with the blessing of the Americans and the British, the Trieste question, their greatest priority. While the Yugoslav side studied its standpoints, the Italian side began to concentrate its military forces on its boundary with Zone A and sent a part of its fleet to Venice. The Yugoslav side answered by closing all border crossings between the two zones and by reinforcing its military forces in Zone B (Jerman, 1994, 323). Tito declared that the marching of Italian troops into Zone A would be considered an act of aggression and that the moment the first Italian soldier entered Zone A, the Yugoslav Army would march into it as well (Pletikosič, 2000, 225). The United States and Great Britain published a bipartite statement, by which Zone A was left to Italy, while not a word was said about Zone B. The highly strained situation was to nobody's liking and certainly not to that of the American President Dwight Eisenhower, who wished to continue a policy of moderation in Europe, its objectives set out by the Marshall plan: political stability, economic reconstruction and safety (Valdevit, 1998, 113).

Upon a number of contacts between embassies, ambassadors and foreign ministers, all the sides involved finally agreed to attempt to solve the strained situation at a conference. After almost six months of negotiations, the American, British, Italian and Yugoslav delegations gathered in London to sign the Memorandum on the Consensus amongst the Governments of Italy, Great Britain, USA and Yugoslavia on the Free Territory of Trieste. It abolished the military administration in Zone A and Zone B and at the same time stipulated a withdrawal of British and American military units from Zone A. With some minor corrections of the Morgan Line in the Milje Hillocks in favour of Yugoslavia, Italy and Yugoslavia accepted the existing division, with the Yugoslav civil administration replacing the military administration in the entire Zone B, and the Italian administration replacing the British and American administration in Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste. In the obtained areas, both states acquired all the rights of state sovereignty. At the same time the Free Territory of Trieste ceased to exist by being divided between Italy and Yugoslavia.

THE YUGOSLAV EXPERIMENT IN NEWLY ANNEXED TERRITORIES

On October 12th, 1954, the large red capital letters shining from the front page of the Italian daily *La Nostra Lotta*, published by the "Body of the Socialist Workers' Alliance" in Koper, informed the passers-by that Yugo-

slavia had yet again greatly contributed towards peace and collaboration between nations. It was of course about the agreement signed by Italy and Yugoslavia at the beginning of that month, under the vigilant eyes of Great Britain and the States. The agreement stipulated the division of Zones A and B of the Free Trieste Territory between these two countries. From the British and Americans and their military administration, Italy obtained Zone A in the Free Territory of Trieste, while in Zone B Yugoslavia replaced its military administration with the civil one.

Those who decided to buy the paper were able to read, on Page 2, the agreement in full together with all the Memorandum's articles; the sentences that the Editorial Board had considered particularly important for the newly formed Italian minority in the Koper district were emphasised with bold letters. Also printed was an interview with Boris Kraigher, President of the Slovene National Assembly, who stressed that Yugoslavia would consistently fulfil all the articles of the signed Memorandum, especially those that concerned the life of the Italians living in our country (NL, 12. 10. 1954, 1). All those who did not wish to leave their homes and had decided to preserve the Italian language and culture in this territory, as promised to them by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and by the Special statute on the protection of the national minorities' rights, were stimulated by the article entitled "Italiani e niente altro" to build socialism in their new homeland together with their Slovene and Croatian brothers (NL, 12. 10. 1954).

On this October day, however, many fewer Italians were promenading the Koper streets than on that May day some nine years ago, when units of the Slovene and Yugoslav National Liberation Army appeared in front of the city walls that had seen countless other armies and announced that freedom finally reached the Slovene Littoral as well (Ballinger, 1998). From as early as September, 1943, inhabitants of this town and its ethnically mixed surroundings had been leaving their homes, travelling along the coastal roads or by sea to Trieste, where the Allied Military Administration (and Italian authorities later on) immediately sent them to various refugee camps (Donato, 2001). From there they continued, some to their relatives, some to the residential quarters especially built for them, and others to Western Europe, Americas, Australia, Canada, and elsewhere.

The departures, which became particularly frequent shortly before and shortly after the important agreements by which the two countries more or less fictitiously attempted to strengthen their joint border, yet again inflamed, in this area and among its people, much distrust, lack of understanding, uncertainty and hate, which by the end of the war had diminished considerably (Pupo, 2000, 167). A concrete result was the number of long queues in front of the council buildings in Istrian

towns and villages, where people effected their decision to leave the country by filling out the forms necessary for the acquisition of a temporary permit to cross the border. The new authority classified them as refugees, for they had decided to exchange the most progressive social system extant (in the opinion of the apparatchiks) for some old and redundant manner of capitalist production. Legal terminology marked them as *optants*, for according to Article 8 of the London Memorandum they were able to opt for a country to which they would entrust their future. In Italy, the political Right proclaimed them exiles and tried to gain political capital on their account both in home and foreign politics, while the Left used more tolerant terms (Volk, 1998). In this confusion of titles, denominations and denotements, which was amplified by the swirl of the Cold War, with its descending Iron Curtain, individuals were trying to find themselves – those who were politically informed by the traumatic experiences of the past, those who knew their wishes and fears, and sought to control their own futures.

THE LAST GREAT WAVE OF EMIGRANTS FROM KOPER AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

If we are concerned with the complex issue of the people who left for Italy after the London Memorandum and its Article 8, we should first of all ask ourselves who these people were. In spite of the ample literature available to us, the essence of the refugees, the optants, the exiles, often remains concealed. Who were they, what were their nationalities, what were their professions, was their social status good or bad, what property did they have, what was their political conviction, of what gender and how old were they, when did they leave, and from where?

Almost all of those who decided to leave the Koper City Council or its surroundings after October, 1954, left behind them a number of traces in the archives in diverse documents. With the aid of some specific computer programmes, the data of 1,363 people could thus be processed, their common points being at least the following two:

1. They were all inhabitants of the Koper City Council or its surroundings (Outer Koper Council) and lodged the application for emigration between 1954 and 1956.

2. They were the "permit bearers", which means that they submitted the documents for themselves and members of their families. On the "Exit permit" they were registered as "cappo familia", and most of the available details are concerned with them.

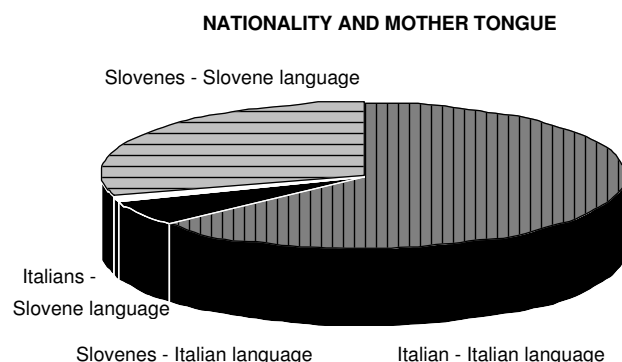
Most of the sources are kept by the Regional Archives Koper, i.e. in the files dealing with the Regional People's Committee, or, to be precise, the Department of Internal Affairs of the Koper District. The documents, which the future emigrants had to submit together with

the "Application for emigration", tell us their name, surname, address, place of birth, date of birth, profession, reason for departure, nationality, and date of departure from Yugoslavia. Also available are details about the property left behind by the emigrants and the movable property taken with them to Italy.

Data about the tax and penal history of the applicants are also available, as well as about their colloquial language, number of family members, and various problems with which they had to contend (through personal letters) with the bureaucracy. At times an opinion about a candidate could also be found, issued by a special commission of the People's Committee or by Section IV of the Administration for Internal Affairs of the Koper District (Gombač, 2001, 6).

SOCIAL PICTURE OF THE EMIGRANTS

On the basis of all these and some other sources, it was possible to attempt to reconstruct the social outline of all those who left the area between the end of 1954 and the end of 1957. The graph, which reveals the mother tongue of the emigrants, clearly shows that they had come from a multinational area. If the nationalities are further expressed in percents, it can be seen that no less than 68% of them spoke Italian, 25% Slovene, while the remaining 7% spoke a little of each.



Graph 1: The Emigrants' Nationality and Mother Tongue (PAK. TNZ OLO).

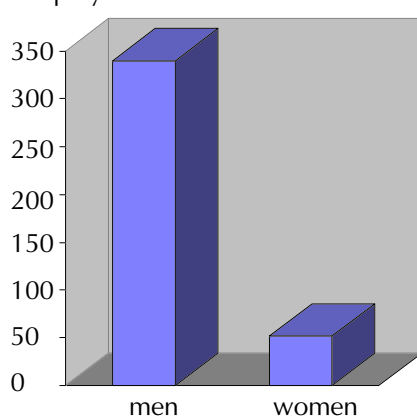
Graf 1: Narodnost in materin jezik (PAK. TNZ OLO).

If we then have a look at how many permit bearers were employed and how many unemployed in Koper and its surroundings, we can see that the area was at that time hit by a severe economic crisis, further intensified by ideological struggle against "private profiteers who constantly speculate and oppose, from the class point of view, socialist relations", (ARS. CK ZKS), against "the impenitent and pro-Fascist petty bourgeois intellectuals" (Beltram, 1986) and the Catholic Church, which was supposed to actively stimulate Italian nationalism.

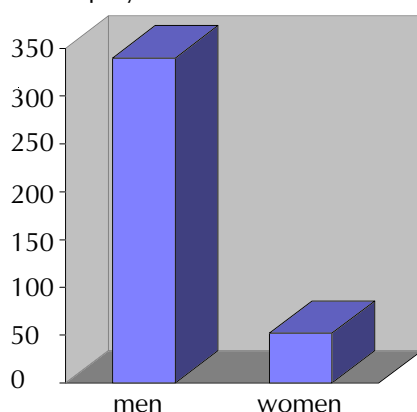
Of the 1,363 permit bearers, 953 were employed either as persons of independent income, as workers in nationalised industry, or as civil servants; 851 of these were men and 102 women. Of the 410 unemployed, 137 were men, 273 women. The unemployed women were mostly housewives who were not paid for their work at home and were dependent mainly on their parents, husbands or boyfriends, or on pensions after their death. As we have already mentioned that we are dealing with a multiethnic area, let us link employment and unemployment with a national component as well:

Amongst the Slovenes, 392 (72.5%) were employed; 52 of these were women, 340 men. 148 (27.5%) were unemployed (91 women and 57 men).

Employed Slovene Nationals



Unemployed Slovene Nationals

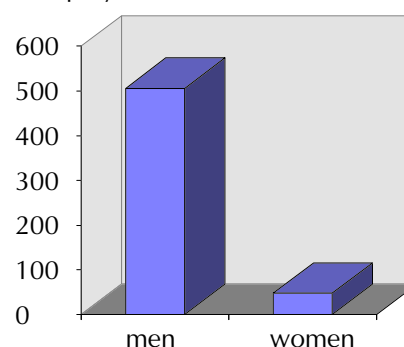


Graph 2: Structure of the Employed and Unemployed Slovene Nationals in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

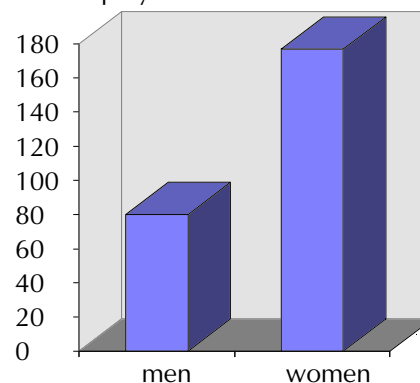
Graf 2: Zaposlenost slovenskega prebivalstva v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Amongst the Italian nationals, 554 (68.3%) were employed (506 men and 48 women). 257 (31.7%) were unemployed (177 women and 80 men).

Employed Italian Nationals



Unemployed Italian Nationals



Graph 3: Structure of the Employed and Unemployed Italian Nationals in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Graf 3: Zaposlenost italijanskega prebivalstva v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Seven Croats were also employed (2 women and 5 men). Five Croat women were unemployed.

Which were the most common professions in the town of Koper and its surroundings? This question is of particular significance, for we wish to use this detail as one of the major bases for the reconstruction of the social picture of that time. As space does not permit us to state all of the 96 different professions, we shall just present some of the most common ones, divided into three categories. This should better illuminate the social differences, which the new system wished to eliminate by all means and as soon as it could. However, the fact should also be taken into account that the nationalisation of firms and the inclusion of former self-employed people into the state economy were speeded up and that many self-employed future emigrants already worked in the state sector by the time they finally decided to leave.

Table 1: Employed tradesmen and self-employed in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 1: Zaposleni obrtniki in privatniki v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
FARMER	260	190	3
HOUSEWIFE	170	92	2
JOINER	41	6	0
FISHERMAN	25	0	0
DRIVER	17	19	0
BLACKSMITH	13	7	0
MECHANIC	12	10	0
BARBER	9	2	0
MERCHANT	9	1	0
BUTCHER	8	1	0
BAKER	7	2	0
SHOEMAKER	7	2	0
ELECTRICIAN	6	5	0
HOUSE PAINTER	6	8	0
DRESSMAKER	5	6	0
SEAMAN	4	0	0
INN-KEEPER	4	0	0
BRICKLAYER	4	19	0
TINSMITH	4	1	0
UPHOLSTERER	4	1	0
WAITER	3	2	0

Table 2: Employed "petty-bourgeois and intellectuals" in the Koper District During 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 2: Zaposleni "malomeščani in intelektualci" v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
CIVIL SERVANT	7	2	0
FEMALE TEACHER	6	0	1
TYPOGRAPHER	2	0	0
STUDENT	2	3	0
PHYSICIAN	2	0	0
NOTARY	1	0	0
PRIEST	1	2	0
MALE TEACHER	1	1	0
PRINTER	1	0	0
ENGINEER	1	0	0
DRUGGIST	1	0	0
SURVEYOR	0	1	0
DEAN/PROFESSOR	0	1	0
COMPOSITOR	1	0	0
CHEMIST	1	0	0

Table 3: "Employed under the new system" in the Koper district during 1954-1956 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**Tabela 3: "Zaposleni v novi državni ureditvi" v okraju Koper med leti 1954-56 (PAK. TNZ OLO).**

PROFESSION	ITALIANS	SLOVENES	CROATS
WORKERS	66	90	2

The political leadership of the Koper District was therefore quite right when describing, at the beginning of 1947, the situation in the town as follows: "The town centres are inhabited mostly by farmers, seamen and fishermen, then by merchants and tradesmen, and by only a few intellectuals." (Beltram, 1986, 46) The leadership was also aware, however, that the situation would not remain such for long, as it was attempting to induce the self-employed, by imposing a tax on trade workshops, to look for a job in the state trade sector. In 1953, the number of self-employed tradesmen in Koper thus fell a great deal – in a single year, the number of private workshops fell from 282 to 203 – while the number employed in state institutions rose from 211 to 310. Although the tradesmen paid the high taxes, more and more workers decided to return the trade permit and, instead of joining the state-owned firms, leave for Italy, "which was quite acceptable, as long as tradesmen were adversely disposed to us, otherwise such things should not be solved with fiscal policy" (ARS. CK ZKS, 2).

The social picture was therefore changing rapidly or was rather "increasingly encouraged by itself, for the great majority of the population were farmers, workers, fishermen and seamen." (Beltram, 1986, 46)

And what about their property? All those who lodged the application to leave the country were also required to state whether they were fixed property owners or not. These properties were then inspected by a special commission, which assessed their condition and whether they had been damaged on purpose, a necessity after the experience with emigrants from Pula. Most often it was established that fixed properties were in poor condition, and there were very few houses that had electricity and running water. Orchards and vineyards were often in a sad state, as well. The owners could name caretakers for their real estate, and as a rule the latter were then confirmed by the Council.

A house with no land was owned by 129 Italians, 57 Slovenes and 1 Croat.

Land with no house was owned by 35 Italians and 40 Slovenes.

House and land at the same time were owned by 90 Italians, 70 Slovenes and 1 Croat.

Thus 557 Italians, 373 Slovenes and 10 Croats were without fixed property. The reasons for this situation were several. They may not have had any to begin with, some of them had simply sold their property, and of

course it is also possible that the documents at hand at times remain silent about these things.

Still, while speaking about real estate we must not forget the fact that every town has its rich and poor districts. Thus the emigrant's address tells us a lot about his or her social status. Opposite the palaces in the Koper's centre stood slums such as Bošadraga, whose residents belonged to the socially lower class of fishermen and partially farmers" (Guček, 2000, 58).

THE PROPERTY ALLOWED OUT OF YUGOSLAVIA

In Article 8 of the London Memorandum, Yugoslavia and Italy also resolved to stipulate the fate of the property of those who had lived in the areas that came under the civil administration of Italy or Yugoslavia and were now able to return unmolested to these areas. All of those who did that were entitled to the same rights as all other inhabitants of these areas. In accordance with current laws, they had all their property at their disposal. Two years after the "Memorandum on Consensus" was signed, the people who had lived in one of these areas but did not intend to return there, and the people who lived in one of these areas but within a year of the day the Memorandum was signed decided to leave this residence, were able to transfer their property and financial means. Relative to this property, they had no import, export or other duties imposed on them. The sums realised through the sale of property of the people, who in view of where they lived decided to sell their fixed and movable property within two years from the day the Memorandum was signed, were supposed to be deposited in special accounts at the National Banks of Italy and Yugoslavia. At the end of the two-year period, the two governments were to clear the balance between these two accounts.

Those who left Yugoslavia in this particular way were thus able to take with them, without export duties, personal goods, furniture, agricultural products and implements, livestock, and vehicles, or almost all movable property. While farmers were allowed to export a yearly supply of provisions, workers and civil servants were able to take with them only a few weeks' supply of such goods (Zagradnik, 1997). However, as Yugoslavia was at that time troubled by a severe economic crisis, its Government ordered its Customs to prohibit or limit the export of certain provisions due to their shortage in the country. This of course means that the optants were not able to take with them everything they wished. The reduction concerned particularly meat, fat, sugar and alcohol. The bearers of the temporary permit to cross the border could take with them only 5 kilograms of sugar, 1 whole prosciutto, from 5 to 10 hens, 5 litres of oil, two litres of spirits, about 10 litres of wine, 2 kilograms of ham, 10 tins of fish, 20 eggs, 3 litres of liqueur, from 20 to 50 kilograms of potatoes, and around 2 kilograms of

fresh meat. Their smoking habit could be consoled by only 10 packets of cigarettes. No gold nor other precious metals were allowed to be exported.

What else were they able to take away with them? This differed from person to person, as it was subject to their profession, life path, good and bad luck, capabilities and a number of other factors that make up people's lives. It also depended on the time available to them for the selection, preparation and packing of their property. While some had enough time to prepare well, some were greatly surprised by the short time in which the exit permit was issued to them and the even shorter time in which they had to leave the country. They were thus forced to fill their vehicles almost at once, and everything for which there was no space left had to be sold, often at inordinately low prices. All of them of course tried to take as much as possible with them, at least in money if not in movable property.

People took the following movable property with them to Trieste: bedroom equipment, complete with beds, cribs, mattresses together with springs, canopies, chairs, pillows, wardrobes, blankets, bedside tables, dressing tables, pictures, clocks, alarm clocks, glass cases, quilts, covers, mirrors, carpets, curtains and chandeliers. As they also kept blankets and dresses in their bedrooms, suitcases or cases with summer, winter and working clothing as well as cases with all kinds of white linen, were included. Shoes, too, were normally packed in their own case.

From their living rooms they took radios, telephones, clocks, pianos, record players (together with records), vases, cabinets, sofas, tables, chests of drawers, chairs, armchairs, deck-chairs, pictures, sculptures, marble plates, albums, chandeliers, ventilating fans, dolls, wooden horses, books, flowers, aquariums, birds and their cages, crucifixes, Christmas-tree decorations, etc.

In the kitchens of that time people kept – apart from electric or spirit stoves, kitchen ranges, cupboards, table, chairs, dishes, and tableware – tin or wooden tubs, copper cauldrons, dough and pasta making boards, buckets, jugs, scales, mincers and flytraps. Together with the kitchen range, firewood had to be taken. In some dining rooms, silver dinner services, crystal glasses, candlesticks, embroidered tablecloths and fine china plates could be found.

From their bathrooms they took bathtubs, flushing pans, washbowls, tubs for bathing children, electrical and mechanical water heaters, wardrobes, mirrors, lights and shavers; but as these places were also used for laundering, washing boards, tubs for soaking dirty linen, soap, electric or gas irons (or even the older ones heated by coals), clotheslines and clothes pegs were taken as well.

The people ready to leave took the requisite tools for their profession. Farmers took complete machinery for land cultivation and boxes of farming tools; some even

brought along hotbed frames and panes, together with seeds. If they were winegrowers, they also took dossers, tubs, presses, barrels, bottles, wicker flasks, hoses, hoes, spades, sulphur and blue vitriol sprayers, ordinary and barbed wire, bundles of willow twigs, beams, wheelbarrows and pumps. Apart from their boats, fishermen took nets, sails, lines with hooks, compasses, ores, spare motors, tools necessary for boat repairs, boxes for storing their catch, supplies of fuel, and fishing overalls. Blacksmiths took various hammers, anvils, moulds, iron pieces, bellows, firewood, paints and other tools. Drivers, mechanics and electricians opted mainly for the tools needed for repairs, various wires, and gauges, etc. Bricklayers needed bricklaying tools and materials, while housewives did not forget to take their sewing machines with them. Priests could not leave their parishes without crucifixes, kneelers, liturgical attire, chalices, altars, statuettes, mass wine, holy water, wafer bread, religious pictures and literature, and stationery. Private physicians loaded their entire dispensaries, together with operating tables, surgical instruments, sanitary material and scientific literature. From their waiting rooms they took benches and armchairs, coat and hat stands, small tables and even doormats. Some also loaded their ophthalmologist instruments and appliances, and some their dentist chairs. For various analyses they also needed centrifuges, microscopes, quartz lights with batteries, sanitary instruments, flasks with reagents, test tubes and burners. They also took medical correspondence and their patients' data. Photographers, and others, often owned cameras with stands, various agents for the making of pictures, albums and whole cases of photos. Chemists took pharmaceutical tools with them, boxes with compounds for pharmaceutical preparations, all kinds of bottles, dishes, plates, precision scales and numerous prepared medicines. In addition they brought internal equipment and furnishings such as display cases, cash boxes, scientific literature, marble tables for the preparation of medicines, counters, framed diplomas and other acknowledgements, and chairs. Apart from furniture, clothes and food, engineers took mostly books with them. As these, too, had to be examined, a special commission made up by the employees of the Regional Museum in Koper was formed by the Secretariat for the Internal Affairs. They prepared lists of books the owners could take with them. As some engineers had quite large libraries, the commission could not always succeed in examining the entire literature, which resulted in the postponement of many applicants' departures for Italy.

Quite a number of people in Koper lived on various annuities. For instance, Mrs. Nicolina G. was letting rooms in her houses and belonged to the richer stratum of the Koper population. With her she decided particularly to take some luxury goods from her apartment – mirrors, folding screens, showcases for objects made of

cut glass, china, kneelers, crosses, statues, wall clocks, pictures, candlesticks, wall-, floor- and bedside-carpets and rugs, memorial sabres, an ornamental miniature ship, old coins, used stamps, postcards, umbrellas, sunshades, a walking stick, hats, laces, shoes, gloves, dresses, four cases of pottery, a Christmas tree, a Christmas crib with Three Wise Men, shepherds, a little Christ and his family, a knitting kit, two cases of books, two boxes of manuscripts and other documents, and a substantial pile of linen and cloths. She did not take any victuals other than a few bottles of mineral water and medicaments for the heart.

Many people in the Koper District played some kind of instrument, and when they had to leave they could of course not part with them. Thus they took to Italy pianos, guitars, mandolins, violins, trumpets, clarinets, trombones, accordions and drums. Even some sports equipment could be found in the property lists, such as skis, sledges, balls, boxing gloves, skates, spear guns, fishing rods and racing bikes. Somebody even took a massage table and a massage machine with him.

Food constituted the greater part of the lists and was carefully weighed and documented. The list of live animals, which the optants were able to take with them to be used as pack animals, if necessary for food, or, perhaps in great need even as something valuable to sell, included mainly horses, donkeys, mules, bulls, cows, calves, pigs, rabbits, turkeys, hens, and chickens. Dogs and cats often travelled with them, as well. For all the animals, food had to be provided, including hay and seeds. Personal food supplies consisted of ham, prosciutto, bacon, oil, sausages, home-made salami, Hungarian salami, pork, beef, butter, eggs, canned fish, pasta, sugar, honey, biscuits, chocolate, marmalade, wheat and corn flour. Common fruits and vegetables were onions, garlic, olives, potatoes, beans, peas, corn, bran, tomatoes, apples, pears, plums, grapes, almonds, walnuts and nuts.

On the lists of drinks wines predominated, while spirits and liqueurs were carried to quench the thirst of those who longed for something stronger. Stewed fruits were taken for children and those with sensitive stomachs (PAK. TNZ OLO).

Their property was loaded onto all sorts of vehicles, which they either owned or borrowed from tradesmen or cooperative societies. These were mainly lorries available for hire at the price of about 80,000 dinars (Derin, 2002). Also used, however, were carts and boats, as well as cars and motorcycles. Some rode bicycles, while others had to carry their property on their shoulders.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been stressed a number of times that migrations are a very complex issue, an exceptionally wide

and multi-layered phenomenon enclosing numerous and very diverse topics (Rystad, 1992). With its great complexity, contradicting data and constant meddling by representatives of both low and high politics, the post-war emigration from Istria, this multiethnic and multicultural territory, has merely confirmed these statements. This course of events is for all involved still one of the major foundations upon which they shape their views in connection with the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, their culture and politics. And if this foundation is composed of diverse myths with a questionable historical basis, then periodically problems will recur; tensions are present today, not only at the local level but also, more broadly, encroaching on the relations between the two countries and even on the EU's expansion politics.

It is becoming increasingly clear that there can simply be no progress toward a better understanding of these events merely by the dull counting of emigrants followed by guesses about all other data concerning these people. The number of emigrants is indeed important, especially if related to their ethnic affiliation. However, as we "lack a more integral picture of these events, we can still only speculate on the causes for such mass migrations" (Troha, 1999, 167).

A social picture is indeed a fountain of data from which we discover a great deal without burdening ourselves with the sheer size and fluidity of a study on a national scale. The fact is that in this way we can turn the numbers into people who were working, hoping, in-

vesting, believing, building, saving, sinning, helping, taking care of their families, travelling, amusing themselves, enjoying life, and in the end also suffering due to the circumstances brought to bear by the war, and, later on, by the new political system, not to mention their personal problems. Also available are the data on their property, one of the main criteria for someone's success, which clearly demarcates the different social layers of population. Through the lists of movable property allowed to be taken with them, one can also observe, apart from tools and equipment intended for individual professions, the education of these people, the things intended for their family life, their desires regarding reading and creating, their interest in art and culture. Also at hand are the diverse objects used in their leisure time, as well as in their religious lives and on various holidays and festivals. All this reveals the rich and interesting lives of these people and their community, at the same time demonstrating the power of their motivation for leaving and going abroad.

For the time being, the research work has been limited only to the town of Koper and its surroundings, but a similar survey has already started that will include the entire Slovene Istria. In connection with similar investigations dealing with the study of the authority's documentation of that particular time and with the aid of a firm collaboration with Italian researchers, an increasing number of answers to our questions will become available.

ZADNJI VELIKI VAL IZSELITEV IZ KOPRA IN NJEGOVE OKOLICE TER POSKUS REKONSTRUKCIJE SOCIALNE SLIKE IZSELJENCEV

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POVZETEK

S podpisom Londonskega memoranduma med Italijo in Jugoslavijo pod skrbnim očesom velesil v začetku meseca oktobra 1954 se je končal skoraj desetletni politični spopad za dokončno zakoličenje meddržavne meje. Ta dogodek pa je postal tudi uvod v zadnje poglavje povojnih migracij Italijanov, pa tudi Hrvatov in Slovencev iz Istre in Dalmacije v Italijo. Tega procesa, ki se je začel že leta 1943, ni zaustavila nobena mednarodna pogodba oziroma sporazum, s katerim sta obe državi vsaj na videz skušali utrditi skupno mejo.

To je dokazal tudi zadnji veliki val izseljencev, ki so po Londonskem memorandumu sklenili zapustiti Koper in njegovo okolico. Za seboj so pustili številne uradne dokumente o svoji prisotnosti na tem prostoru, zato se je dalo s pomočjo statistike, grafov in števil izseljence ne le prešteti in razdeliti na "naše in njihove", temveč je postalo mogoče uzreti tudi njihovo socialno sliko. Ta nam govori svojo zgodbo o ljudeh, ki so prebivali v teh krajih, opravljali svoje poklice, večali ali izgubljali svoje premoženje, oblikovali družine, živeli bogato kulturno in versko življenje na tem multietničnem in multikulturnem prostoru in ki so se odločili vse to zapustiti in oditi najprej v Trst, nekateri pa tudi drugam posvetu.

Kar 94 različnih poklicev nam kaže raznolikost zaposlitve v tem mediteranskem mestu, seveda pa gre k poklicu tudi določen status in njemu pripadajoči statusni simboli. Da pa dela le ni bilo za vse, nam kažejo podatki o brezposelnosti, kjer so prevladovali predvsem ženske.

O bogastvu in revščini tamkajšnjega prebivalstva nam govorijo podatki o nepremičninah. Teh izseljenci niso mogli vzeti s seboj, so pa jih lahko prodali, ali pa jim priskrbeli oskrbnike, ki naj bi skrbeli za zanje vse do njihove vrnitve. V premičinah, ki so jih izseljenci lahko vzeli s seboj, pa lahko najdemo celo vrsto predmetov, ki nas bolje seznani s samim življenjem ljudi v tistem času, ljudi, ki so delali, bivali, se družili in ljubili, skrbeli za osebno higieno, se ukvarjali z športom, fotografijo, izobraževali, kulturno ustvarjali, potovali, verovali in seveda jedli in pili. S seboj v novo življenje so na vsak način želeli prenesti temelje, ki naj bi jim v kaotičnem svetu migracij nudili oporo in na ta način ohranjali upanje, da bo spet kdaj tako, kot je bilo.

Ključne besede: migracije, eksodus, socialna slika, multietnični prostor, oblikovanje meje

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THE MANIPULATION OF THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY: ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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ABSTRACT

The main argument of this essay is that ethnic conflicts cannot be explained exclusively referring to ethnic identities because of the relational, relative character of the latter. In fact, a sort of ideological justification of ethnic conflicts can be obtained only by means of the manipulation of the idea of ethnicity for political aims.

The base on which this essay has been originally written is represented by the attempt to answer the question: "If 'ethnicity' is invented why is there so much ethnic conflict?". Therefore, the starting point is represented by the consideration of the plastic, relational nature of ethnicity and the possibility to manipulate it. This aspect is subsequently corroborated in the essay by the case-study, dealing with ethnic conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the manoeuvring of the concept of ethnic identity before the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Key words: Ethnicity, ethnic identity, ethnic conflicts, ethnic manipulation, nationalism, Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims

LA MANIPOLAZIONE DEL CONCETTO DI ETNICITÀ: CONFLITTI ETNICI NELLA EX JUGOSLAVIA

SINTESI

L'argomento principale del presente articolo si riferisce al fatto che i conflitti etnici non possono essere spiegati esclusivamente in termini di identità etniche, visto il carattere relativo di queste ultime. Infatti, una giustificazione ideologica dei conflitti etnici si può ottenere solo attraverso la manipolazione per scopi politici dell'idea di etnicità.

La base su cui questo articolo è stato originariamente scritto è rappresentata dal tentativo di rispondere alla domanda "Se l'etnicità è un'invenzione, perché esistono così tanti conflitti etnici?". Pertanto, il punto di partenza è rappresentato dalla considerazione della natura plastica e relazionale dell'etnicità, e dalla possibilità di manipolarla. Questo aspetto viene successivamente avvalorato nel presente articolo mediante lo studio di un caso specifico, vale a dire quello sui conflitti etnici nella Bosnia-Erzegovina e la manipolazione del concetto di identità etnica alla base della disintegrazione della Jugoslavia.

Parole chiave: etnicità, identità etnica, conflitti etnici, manipolazione etnica, nazionalismo, Jugoslavia, Bosnia-Erzegovina, serbi, croati, bosniaci mussulmani

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic conflicts have been compared to "the crying, shouting and hitting" of children over toys. The comparison is also extended to conflicts in adult life, such as "between homeowners and burglars ... or between separating spouses". And this kind of confrontation is explained by the "conflicting desires to own or use particular things" (Forbes, 1997, 13-14).

Is this kind of comparison possible, and fair? This metaphor is probably very helpful as it proposes the confrontation for the use of resources as a possible explanation of ethnic conflicts; nevertheless, one may argue there are other components at the base of such a bewildering phenomenon.

Ethnic identity reveals to be a very dynamic trait, and its influence on people's behaviour and convictions transforms and adapts to the changed surrounding conditions. Therefore, the different historic, social and economic circumstances affect the discourse concerning ethnic identity and ethnicity and give reason for the fluidity and flexibility of the latter. During the 1990s, especially in common sense and mass media language, ethnic identity has been proposed as the foundation on which the nature and cause of ethnic conflicts could be unravelled. Moreover, the tension between opposed trends, such as the one commonly known as globalisation, and the claim for local uniqueness diffused all over the world has been framed in this new context.

In this essay, something different will be argued. Particularly, it will be stressed upon the 'plastic' nature of ethnicity and on the possibility that the latter could be consequently manipulated for particularistic reasons. The intention of the essay is that of focusing on the ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, and principally in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order to demonstrate the possibility, and even the relative ease, with which such manipulation might take place for political aims. Therefore, the first part will have a more general and theoretical aspect. A misleading concept, ethnicity can be dealt with from various viewpoints, but cannot be treated as a self-explanatory notion, given its relational character. Consequently, there must be other causes at the base of the ethnic conflicts that have devastated various regions of the world in the last years. The reference to the empirical case of the ex-Yugoslavia, in the second and largest part, will try to practically demonstrate that such tragedies cannot be explained only by means of the belonging to different ethnic groups. The presence of very influential political aims has made possible the paradoxical actualisation of images and symbols belonging to a dark, troubled past. One of the central arguments of this essay is precisely that this kind of symbolism has rendered more feasible an instrumental manipulation of the idea of ethnicity. Therefore, ethnic identity is itself not considered a sufficient condition for the outburst of

ethnic conflicts: precise political and social circumstances are required for it to become decisive.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Can intelligence of the unintelligible be achieved? How is it possible finding a background on which the explanation of the unexplainable is feasible? Referring to Rwanda or Bosnia, many have called back in the context atavistic and primordial hatreds; the latter, for a reason or another, were cooled down for a while, to blow up later with reinvigorated momentum and violence. The Balkans in general, and ex-Yugoslavia in particular, have been defined as an immense cauldron that the fall of Communism has uncovered: the rest of the world has thus reminded that it was in this region that the First World War originated, as a proof of its frantiness. On the other hand, such slaughters as the ones which took place between Hutu and Tutsi have been explained as the "eruption of ancient and irrational tribal antagonisms" (Turton, 1997, 7).

Are these interpretations acceptable? Are ethnic differences sufficient to explain the phenomenon? Actually, as Turton points out, when the protagonists of ethnic conflicts are asked to give a plausible justification of their actions, they refer to the "deep and ineradicable difference between 'them' and 'us'" (Turton, 1997, 3).

If ethnicity is undoubtedly useful to shed light on the phenomenon, it is certainly not possible referring to it as the unique cause, and not even as the most important one. Ethnicity may probably boost and politically justify the conflict in the actors' eyes, but other components must be taken into account, if it is true that ethnicity is "imagined and invented" (Ib.). Some authors, such as Pirjevec, seem to be closer to a historicist and primordialist approach referring to the conflict between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims in the former Yugoslavia as "an internal affair" for "the conquest of a vital space" (Pirjevec, 1995, 5). "Fear of the future" is pointed out as the principal cause by others (Lake and Rothchild, 1998, 7); others refer to a lack of democratic institutions (Udovički, 1997, 6-7), whilst somewhere else explicit reference is made to the use that political leaders have done of the concept of ethnicity in order to mobilize masses for their political personal aims (Turton, 1997, 1).

One cannot probably say which one of these causes is the most significant one; all of them contemporarily exercise their influence and cannot be separated. Nevertheless, the role of political leaders seems to be a key one in this context, because it allows the combination of all of these components with tragic results on million of people's lives. As Troebst points out, this is true for all Eastern Europe, where leaders such as Milošević in Serbia, Kravchuk in Ukraine, Meciar in Slovakia, Kučan in Slovenia and Yeltsin himself in Russia have followed the same path: from the Central Committee of the Commu-

nist parties, not only have they survived at the epochal change after 1989, but they have also favourably exploited it, shifting to nationalist and ethnic rhetoric to mobilize as large portions of national societies as possible (Troebst, 1997, 79-80).¹

This seems particularly clear in the case of Yugoslavia. Actually, the watershed in Yugoslavia can be traced in 1980 rather than in 1989, at Tito's death. After that date the most prominent figure in the federation was the gloomy and worrying one of Slobodan Milošević, defined by Pirjevec as a demagogue very able to galvanize the masses without allowing his own rhetoric to overwhelm him (Pirjevec, 1995, 65). The fragile Yugoslav multiethnic structure abundantly relied on Tito's charisma and ability. No wonder, therefore, that it fell down after the disappearance of the latter. Hence, the reference to the case of Yugoslavia may be symptomatic of the belief that ethnicity *per se* is not sufficient to burst out such conflicts.

What is ethnicity, after all? Is it possible answering this question with a clear definition, suitable for all cases and seasons? Or would it rather be better to refer to other concepts and variables? Is ethnicity really "imagined and invented"? Turton adds, immediately afterwards, that in spite of these features, it is not "imaginary". On the opposite, "it is real in at least two senses": as a potential means to mobilize communities and motivate their behaviour, both in peace and in war; because of the needs it has to be combined with particular historical conditions to express these potentialities, and be rendered 'real' (Turton, 1997, 3-4).

Banks offers a list of possible definitions or explanations of the idea of ethnicity through the years. On the base of this list it can be argued how it is not possible to obtain a complete and satisfactory definition of ethnicity. (Banks, 1996, 4-5). Eriksen recognizes the term ethnicity with "dubious descriptive value" (Eriksen, 1993, 4). Banks himself states that he is not going to coin a definition of ethnicity, since for the latter to emerge, other stronger "partners" are needed, "such as 'race' or 'nationalism'" (Banks, 1996, 182).

As both Jenkins and Eriksen point out, the term ethnicity derives from the Greek *ethnos* (Jenkins, 1997, 9; Eriksen, 1993, 3-4). It seemed to refer since the beginning to situations of common living to afterwards assume the meaning of "people" or "nation".

However, ethnicity is not something susceptible of auto-explanation: it is a relational concept (Turton, 1997, 3). Sartori has stated that difference is the necessary complement of identity; groups distinguish themselves from the others because of these dissimilarities.

Every group *is* depending on what it is *not*. In the end an "us" which is not circumscribed by a "them" is not even able to constitute (Sartori, 2000, 44). "The first fact of ethnicity is the application of systematic distinctions between insiders and outsiders; between Us and Them. If no such principle exists there can be no ethnicity" (Eriksen, 1993, 18).

Recognizing the relational dimension of the concept may lead to a better understanding of the latter, and allow a confrontation, otherwise impossible, of it with concepts apparently similar, such as those of race and nationalism. From this point of view, the topic is considered very attentively by Jenkins, who traces a valuable pattern starting from Weber up to Barth. In Weber's *Economy and Society*, the belief in common origins from part of the members of a group, and the sharing of common cultural traits are central. Nevertheless, the feeling of belonging together is considered as a consequence of the acting together. Not necessarily is race perceived as something fundamental, until it is not believed to be a common trait. The stress is therefore more shifted upon cultural common features, such as, first of all, language and rituals. Starting from these shared principal characteristics, acting together is possible. On the other hand, Weber points out how these features are indefinite and variable, so that the combinations of common action are also blurred (Jenkins, 1997).

Jenkins goes on pointing out how the idea of differentiation between the "ins" and the "outs" is more present in Hughes's *On Work, Race and the Sociological Imagination*. The author states that the difference between groups cannot be measured by means of objective criteria. Therefore, cultural differences do not cause ethnic distinctions, they only mark it. "Ethnic groups are what people believe or think them to be" (Hughes, 1997, 10-11).

Culture is probably recognized its central place with Barth; moreover, it is clearly pointed out that cultural differentiation is conceptually allowed through the maintenance of dividing lines between diverse groups. On one hand, there are people who share common cultural traits, and these similarities allow them to distinguish themselves from the others. "There are discrete groups of people, i.e. ethnic units, to correspond to each culture" (Barth, 1969, 9).

On the other hand, the relational dimension of ethnicity is unearthed when it is clearly considered how these cultural differentiations emerge by means of exchange of communications and contacts between different communities. The importance of boundaries is clear: they persist in spite of a flow of personnel and contact

1 Franjo Tudjman is not part of this list. A former historian, he was in fact an opponent of the regime who took advantage of the sensational defeat of the ex-communists at the 1990 elections. Tudjman's party, the Croatian Democratic Alliance, gained the majority of the *sabor* with more than 40% of popular vote. A genuine nationalist, his main point of reference was "the national state of the Croatian nation". He elected ethnicity as the governing principle of the young state (Gallagher, 1997, 53; Pirjevec, 1995, 120).

across them, and dissimilar ethnic and cultural patterns are maintained beyond each side of the boundary.

While defining the concept of ethnic group, Barth offers some valuable insights. He considers it as a category "of ascription and identification by the actors themselves": it organizes interaction between people (Barth, 1969, 10). Common cultural traits do not constitute objective features: they matter if and when the members of the group regard them to be significant. "Ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems" (1969, 14). This is possible when boundaries are maintained, but it is across these boundaries that cultural differences, and therefore ethnic ones, reveal themselves.

Barth also gives a very important contribution clarifying some of the features at the base of the dynamic of groups' interdependence, when he refers to the "ecologic perspective".

In fact, competition for resources may differ according to the different niches every ethnic group occupies in the environment. Various solutions, in terms of competition, are possible; however, as there are usually some degrees of interdependence between different groups, competition may alternate with forms of co-operation. Therefore, violent confrontation is not the norm.²

When ethnicity is instead exclusively considered in auto-explanatory terms, only some aspects of the phenomenon are taken into account, whilst other are left largely unexplored. This is particularly apparent when the origin of ethnic conflict is examined.

Thus, the primordialists perceive ethnicity as a set of inherited physical characteristics or historical conditions. These features cannot be modified by the individuals who, therefore, are defined as belonging to this or that ethnic group.³ On one hand this view does not see ethnicity necessarily as a turbulent concept; on the other, conflicts are seen as intimately linked to these sets of inherited characteristics and, consequently, automatically explained: conflict is rooted in the essence of ethnicity.

The instrumentalist approach assumes a different stance: the latter can be summarized by Rothchild's

words, when he defines ethnic groups as mere utility maximizers (Rothchild, 1986, 66-67). In this perspective, ethnicity is nothing more than a means used by individuals or groups to obtain some political or economic ends. This is clearly a public choice approach, as Rothchild explicitly states. Neither in this case do ethnic conflicts need to be given a particular account, as their nature is not different from that of other conflicts. The ethnic component is part of the confrontation, but the latter is in any case pre-eminently determined by material reasons.

Probably with a more balanced standpoint, the constructivists view ethnicity as a social phenomenon rather than determined by a set of individual characteristics. The constructivist point of view probably bridges the way between the two previous approaches, as far as it considers ethnicity as something evolving and changeable. As a result, ethnic conflicts assume particular characteristics, as they seem to be caused by a pathological involution of the social system.⁴

In the light of the efforts made in order to define or clarify the concept of ethnicity and of the relational characteristics of the latter, it is therefore probably possible to consider ethnic conflicts as intimately caused by other issues than those exclusively linked with ethnicity itself. Especially if the topic of competition for the use of resources is considered, then it is clear that, according to the different historic and social conditions, this competition may also assume violent forms. Turton explicitly states that the competition to obtain political power and the material resources to which such power gives access could provide with a better explanation of the phenomena of ethnic conflicts (Turton, 1997, 3).

It seems that in this statement there are two different aspects: first of all, and precisely, the confrontation for the use and availability of resources. On the other hand, it can also be noted how the struggle for the attainment of political power represents another aspect. In other words, the concept of ethnicity is used for aims other than those merely deriving from the common ancestry or culture.

If competition between different ethnic groups most of the times takes the form of a pacific living together, nevertheless uncertainty about the future may allow a

2 First of all, even though two or more different ethnic groups inhabit the same area, "they may occupy clearly distinct niches in the natural environment, and be in minimal competition for resources" (Barth, 1969, 19). On the other hand, if they live in different and complementary territories, they may enter in competition for resources; consequently, politics along the border is in this case very important. Then, they may also symbiotically provide each other with what they reciprocally need: the niches they occupy are distinct, but complementary. In this case, there is space for different solutions and kinds of interdependence, as situations of competition might alternate with situations of co-operation.

3 Isaacs goes so far as to argue that the identity of the individual within the group is decided by chance, at a given moment and given place (that is, when and where the individual is born), according to the attributes that are shared with the other components of the community (Isaacs, 1975, 38-39).

4 This evolutionary stance probably allows a better understanding of such changes as the ones which took place in Yugoslavia, where, within a very short time, entire peoples shifted from pacific and cosmopolitan cohabitation to a violent interpretation of their ethnic origins.

distorted use of ethnicity and diversity as if they represented real fractures within the society. Lake and Rothchild cite Pesić, one of the leaders in the political opposition to Milošević: ethnic conflicts are about "fear of the future, lived through the past" (Lake, Rothchild, 1998, 7).

If contact is indispensable in order to draw the borders between different ethnic groups, it is precisely by means of contact that reasons of friction between different groups are created. Actually, there is no contradiction if it is stated that, on one hand, contact tends to reduce differences between groups and that, on the other, it offers the ground on which everybody wants to preserve these differences. In fact, if dissimilarities are reduced by means of homogenisation and assimilation, there may be the premises in order to resist these processes and to preserve one's own way of life and singularity (Forbes, 1997, 142-149).

THE VIOLENT DEATH OF YUGOSLAVIA: THE FUTURE PROJECTED ONTO THE PAST

What does "fear of the future, lived through the past" mean? Probably, this question holds a very large part of the 'solution' of the problem. Various components play their part in this context, as the fear to be assimilated by a hegemonic ethnic group or state may turn into a violent confrontation if this accompanies with the feeling that the physical survival of the group is in danger. Moreover, as the events which have taken place after the fall of Communism have clearly demonstrated, the decline of the central authority often implies a worsening of these trends (Lake, Rothchild, 1998, 8). Nevertheless, instead of a simple removal of protection, this may lead to different political projects promoting ethnic tensions.

What does represent the past which lives in the future in the ex-Yugoslavia? What kinds of phantoms have been revived during the wars which have bloodstained this land? In few lines, in the foreword to his work *Serbi, croati, sloveni* (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes), Pirjevec recalls this past, and depicts the complex drawing of a region where different cultures, ethnic groups, languages, religions, foreign dominations have overlapped and intermingled with no solution of continuity for more than two thousand years.

What was Yugoslavia? This country disappeared in 1991, and immediately it was realized how that area of the Balkans was characterized by an apparent conceptual void, something very difficult to fill in. The circumstances themselves which led in January 1929 to the coin of this new word, Yugoslavia, to label that which had been since 1918 simply the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, were turbulent and characterized by violence with an ethnic background. In fact, in June 1928, three deputies of the Croatian Peasant Party were

shot in parliament by a radical Montenegrin deputy. The crisis which derived from that allowed the king Aleksandar Karadjordjević to suspend the constitution, outlaw political parties, dismiss the National Assembly, and rename the Kingdom as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This seemed to be an extreme attempt to deny the frictions between the three principal ethnicities of the country (Prpa-Jovanović, 1997, 55).

Pirjevec's opinion seems therefore very authoritative: how could such a fiction, as that of a *Yugoslav* country, represent in the collective imaginary something able to substitute thousand of years of history? The author suggests that probably this solution was adopted because it was comfortable, because it was the shortest way to classify that "grey zone" extending just beyond the gates of Western civilization: *hic sunt leones*.

Actually, between Trieste and Thessaloniki, between the Adriatic Sea and the Hungarian *puszta*, there extends a region divided for centuries by different frontiers, as few others in the world. The Western and the Eastern Roman Empires had here their borders; the catholic and the orthodox churches the clearest clash of interests; Islam its avant-garde; the Turks, the Hapsburgs and Venice confronted here for their very survival other than for their mere glory. Furthermore, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nationalisms provided the different ethnic groups with the will and the strength to fight in up to five wars, of which two were the World Wars.

A crossover of cultures and worlds, where the Yugoslav ideal started to be cultivated as a utopia in the nineteenth century, but came into reality in 1918. However, it was immediately clear how, within the new state, the making of a new national identity was not able to pass through the guardianship of the dominant ethnic group, the Serbian one, with no consequences. The Serbs were in fact prevailing on the Croats and Slovenes because both of their numeric consistency, and political and military influence.

The new state was therefore stained by this contradiction since its birth, and barely could the contrast between a North marked by the Central European civilization, and a South marked by the Levantine culture be masked until 1991; Vienna on one side, with Ljubljana and Zagreb in its orbit; Istanbul on the other, with Belgrade in its sphere of attraction (Pirjevec, 1995, 3-5).

Yugoslavia was therefore the representation of the divide that involved all the Slavs on continental scale: the dualism between Renaissance and Byzantinism, between Latin Europe and the Greek-orthodox one, that expressed through the distinction between Poles, Bohemians, Slovenes and Croats on one side, and Russians, Bulgarians and Serbs on the other one (Caccamo, 1991, 86).

The legend tells that, on the eve of the battle of Kosovo Polje, in the summer of 1389, a grey falcon was flying from Jerusalem to the campsite of the prince

Lazar, leader of Serbian armies;⁵ in its beak it was carrying a skylark. Actually, the falcon was Saint Elias, and the skylark was a message sent from the Virgin Mary. Lazar had to choose: either the victory and the kingdom on earth, or the defeat by hand of the Turks and the heavenly glory. He considered the transience of the material things and chose, by means of sacrificing his life, to witness the redemption of Christ. That event, mantled in the fogs of the myth, characterizes the story of the Serbian people, and works as a watershed. It represents the regret for the destiny in this existence, but also the conviction that the Serbs will receive, as a reward for their sacrifice, the two kingdoms with the glory of an only victory.

Exactly 600 years later, on 28 June 1989, in the same place, Slobodan Milošević was speaking in front of the audience that had gathered to commemorate that battle, promising to the Serbs that nobody would have been allowed to beat them, and that the Islam would not have stepped further against them and the Christianity. In 1989-90, all the vestiges of the autonomy of that region, by now inhabited by an Albanian majority, were completely dismantled, thus completing the job started one year before. The same treatment was reserved to Vojvodina, the other autonomous region in Serbian territory, with a strong portion of Hungarian population (Denitch, 1994; Gallagher, 1997).

This historic resource shows the way politics in Yugoslavia was played on the past; more precisely, in Gallagher's words, "history became politics projected onto the past" (1997, 54), a past which was always recalled in order to justify and claim 'historic rights' from part of the various nationalities which formed Yugoslavia, especially by the Serbs and the Croats.

However, it is exactly this stress on the past, this dig up again the past, that demonstrates that, in reality, if Yugoslavia was doomed, it "did not die a natural death – it was murdered" (Denitch, 1994, 69).

Who are the murderers? One would immediately think of people such as Milošević or Tudjman. Undoubtedly, these two personalities are in the list; however, the latter is much longer and larger than one may think. Tito himself is in this list.

Both Denitch and Gallagher speak of manipulated ethnicities or nationalisms in Yugoslavia. By means of the symbolism of which Serbian and Croatian cultures are pervaded, it did seem that the clock which stopped to tick with the advent of Communism started again, and that the history of these peoples was again on its natural pattern: that of hatred and vengeance for past faults, and of a primordial dynamics unknown to the civilized people of Central and Western Europe.

That is completely false; without the manipulation of these tendencies, there would have never been such disastrous results. Serbs and Croats had been living together for centuries, and a certain kind of Yugoslav identity was turning into reality from the 1950s onward. The events of the Second World War, when Croatian fascist Ustaše massacred Serbian communities, and Serbian Četniks did the same to Croats and Muslims, cannot delete at least four hundred years of living in common. It has to be kept in mind that the Nazis had occupied the country, and the different alliances which formed also influenced the confrontation between the various ethnic groups. But this does not mean that what happened in those years was the rule. Rather, the aspect that marks that period was surely the common struggle against the occupants: Yugoslav freed themselves from the Nazis without the help of the Red Army.

Furthermore, in the Croatian Krajina, Croats and Serbs had represented for at least three centuries the extreme Christian rampart against the Turks. Inter marriages between people belonging to different ethnic groups (and therefore to different religions) were increasing, and so was the number of people who defined themselves as "Yugoslavs" in census (Denitch, 1994, 62-63; Gallagher, 1997, 50; Pirjevec, 1995, 120).

Nevertheless, this "Yugoslavism" seemed to be a void concept if compared to the Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, or Montenegrin identities. This trend in progress was brutally stopped by the outburst of the civil war in 1992, in the same regions where centuries of common living had made of cities such as Sarajevo an example of multiethnicity and the crossroads between Europe and Byzantium. How was this possible? Where did this sudden hatred derive from? Who created and fed it?

Was the Yugoslav nation really a void concept? Was this experiment of cohabitation actually doomed to failure? In fact, the collapse of Yugoslavia seems to suggest that the ethnic wars of the 1990s were rooted in precise historical reasons. Nevertheless, as Watchel (1998) indicates, this may be considered true for practically any nation. What happened in Yugoslavia after its breaking up should not be considered inevitable in the sense that represented something different from what took place in other "civilized" nations.

Even the predominance of the Serbian element inside the federation, in the end, could have developed according to another kind of dynamic: Serbia could have represented for Yugoslavia what the Parisian region represents for France, Prussia for Germany, Piedmont for Italy.

Watchel explicitly recalls D'Azeglio's words ("We have made Italy, now we must make Italians"), and the

5 Of course, during the Middle Ages, most of the peoples who inhabited the Balkans had certainly no notion of their belonging to a nation rather than another. Terms as Serb, Croat, Slovene, Bosnian and so on are therefore used anachronistically (Watchel, 1998, 11).

differences and cleavages between the various Italian regions during the 1870s, as deep as those present in Yugoslavia a century later, to point out how that the process of nation building in Yugoslavia failed certainly not because the Yugoslavs were different from other people (Watchel, 1998, 16, 228).

Bringa quotes a phrase she often heard from her interviewees in the Bosnian village she visited in January 1993, Muslims and Croats alike: "We always lived together and got along well; what is happening now has been created by something stronger than us" (Bringa, 1995, 4).

The republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was a Yugoslavia in miniature, with the most evident cases of intermingling of different people. Nevertheless, it also incarnated the biases on which ethnic manipulation reproduced and spread.

Considered as an artificial Tito's creation in order to solve the dispute between Croats and Serbs about the region, in reality this pattern of common living was best mirrored in Bosnian cities and towns, first of all Sarajevo, even defined by Karahasan "the centre of the world", a city carrying with itself whatever can be found west of India (1993).

If in the countryside the various communities did not experience as a rule intermarriages, nevertheless, people from different ethnic backgrounds lived door to door and also had close traditions of friendship. National origins played a second role respect to socio-economic considerations (Bringa, 1995, 4).

Ethnic manipulation reached its apex in the case of the Muslims of Bosnia, given the ambiguity the term "Muslim" could be used with. Not only did it designate a religious community, it also referred to a national entity, or *narod*. Therefore, the historical aspiration of both Croats and Serbs to parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina justified on this ambiguity, and relied on the negation of historical continuity to the Bosnian Muslim community.

Nationalist discourse in Bosnia made several effort to demonstrate, from the Croatian standpoint, that Bosnian Muslims were no other than former Catholic subsequently converted to Islam; on the other hand, the same was argued by Serbian observers, whereas the conversion was from the orthodox faith. Such a conversion was not considered as historically "authentic", as it interested those nobles who wanted to preserve their privileges after the Turkish conquest, or was forced following to the latter. To reinforce this argument it was also argued that all the converted were before members of the bogomil heretic sect, persecuted both by the orthodox

and the catholic churches, though especially by the latter.

The belief in this historical discontinuity of the Muslim *narod* offered the theorists of socialist Yugoslavia the hope that the new Yugoslav national identity would have decisively spread amongst the Muslims of Bosnia. Actually, if the number of Bosnians who declared themselves as Yugoslavs at the 1961 census was about 270,000 people on a population of more than 22 million, this number fell harshly at more than 40,000 at the 1971 census when the Muslims were recognized as a nation. Conversely, the number of those who declared themselves as Muslims increased sharply.⁶

Of course, the ultimate aim of the reliance on this kind of discourse was the denial of the Bosnian nationhood. Bosnia-Herzegovina was in fact an odd out in a federal system where all the republics were based on national elements. These features were identified by means of natural elements such as the common ancestry and a common history. There was therefore no place for a community whose supposed nationhood had to be justified on the base of ambiguous psychological identification, such as a shared environment or common cultures and feelings (Bringa, 1995).

According to Denitch "Tito must also share in the responsibility for the death of Yugoslavia" (Denitch, 1994, 63). Tepavac, on the other hand, is also convinced that the Yugoslav leader made some mistakes, but, according to him, "it was not Tito who murdered Yugoslavia. The murderers are among us" (Tepavac, 1997, 77).

Marshall Tito sincerely believed in a federal Yugoslavia. His Croatian and Slovenian origins did not prevent him from building a real federal structure, unknown during the 'first' Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, he was aware of the difficulties that this enterprise carried with it. He was especially aware of the different weight that, in the new unity, the Serbian or Croatian element could have compared to, say, the Slovenian or the Macedonian one (Tepavac, 1997, 65).

The homage paid to the Serbs by Tito can be represented also by the fact it was Belgrade, the Serbian capital, to be designated as Yugoslav capital instead of Sarajevo, the multicultural city by definition, perhaps provided with a federal district. Moreover, besides constituting more than one third of the Yugoslav population,⁷ Serbs represented the pillar of the federation, and their role was similar to the one exercised by the Russians within the Soviet Union. Not only had they led the uprising against the Nazi invader, they also constituted the majority of the managerial class inside the army

6 From 200,000 to more almost 850,000 in 1961 to almost 1,500,000 in 1971. Those declaring themselves as Yugoslavs were 1,200,000 million (5.4% of total population) at the 1981 census.

7 In 1981, the population of Yugoslavia was composed by: 36.3% of Serbs, 19.8% of Croats, 8.9% of Muslims (that is, Slavs who were Muslims and spoke Serbo-Croatian), 7.8% of Slovenes, 7.7% of Albanians, 6% of Macedonians, 5.4% of "Yugoslavs", 2.6% of Montenegrins, 1.9% of Hungarians (Denitch, 1996, 29).

(though the latter was multiethnic at its base), and the main element of the secret services and propaganda (Pirjevec, 1995, 57-58).

Most of the authors (among them Denitch and Tepavac), blame Tito for having ruled much too long, without equipping the federal state with a mechanism capable of facing the void of power that there would have been at the retirement of the Marshall from public life. In fact, in the early 1970s, a modification to the constitution stated that Josip Broz Tito would be President-for-life of Yugoslavia (Tepavac, 1997, 73). It was precisely during the early 1970s that new mistakes were added to previous ones.

Firstly, in Yugoslavia it happened what took place in other socialist countries as well, where the administrative and federal subdivision of the country followed the ethnic divides. This feature, added to the absence of a real pluralist and democratic representative system, emphasized the confrontation based on nationalities, so that national communist parties were considered as the genuine interpreters of the exigencies of the local populations. This also affected the confrontation for public resources, more and more conducted on the criteria of local and ethnical differentiations against the federal centre.

The prestige gained at an international level by Tito's Third World-oriented and non-aligned politics did not match with this lack of internal democracy. As a consequence, the sense of belonging to one's ethnic group acquired an ever-increasing role. The absence of voluntary organizations and movements confirmed the complete lack of any other sense of individual identification. The failure of the Yugoslav idea itself can be considered within this frame (Denitch, 1996).

The second mistake made by Tito was the clearing of the Croatian reformist movement in 1972. The crystallization of the Marshall's personal rule deprived the country of a generation of reformists who would have represented a serious and reliable alternative for the years to come. It might be seen in this 'purge' the beginning of the end for the federation, the prelude to the poor wreck of which it would have been victim only ten years after Tito's death (Denitch, 1994; Pirjevec, 1995).

Yugoslavia's last years were characterized by a crescendo of nationalist tension which inserted upon an already flawed structure. Yugoslavia, also because of its non-alignment and the consequent financial contributions from Western countries, especially the United States, experienced the highest standard of living among the socialist countries. Nevertheless, the distribution of wealth was very uneven, and the country was split between an advanced North and a South whose standard of living could be compared to Third World countries'. The average per capita national income in 1988 was 2,101 Yugoslav dinars. Slovenia displayed a value which was more than twice as much as the national

one, and more than eight times as much as Kosovo's. The same can be said concerning the illiteracy rate: in face of a federal mean value of 13.7%, the extreme values were again Slovenia's, with 1.4%, comparable to the most advanced Western countries' situations, and Kosovo's, with a huge 25.7% (Flere, 1992, 263).

The policy of economic development disadvantaged the Southern agricultural and raw material producing regions, whilst almost the entire modern industrial structure was allocated in the North. Furthermore, the products of the Southern regions were less priced on the market. The result was a gap between a developed North and an underdeveloped South, with Slovenia, Croatia and Vojvodina that more and more reluctantly transferred resources to Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina or Macedonia.

The process which led to the disastrous dismantling of Yugoslavia was injected by a series of causes. Of course, the local communist leaders, after Tito's disappearance, had no more material constraints. The unbalances had to be solved in the way that fitted the best with the national needs.

The situation started to fall to pieces precisely with Milošević's visit to Kosovo in 1987, and then again in 1989. Albanian's protests and northern republics' intolerances originated in Serbia an irrational fear of being encircled. Mass media, especially television, supported this process. Again, gloomy symbols and slogans from the past ("Serbia is wherever Serbian graves are"- Pirjevec, 1995, 119) united with the legend of the sacrifice of the Serbian people in order to witness of the celestial redemption. The myth of an ancestral Serbia was reboosted by the publication of a book, *The Book of Milutin*, by Danko Popović, in 1985, which symbolized the story of Serbia in the life of a peasant from Šumadija. In the outburst of revolutions, wars and abuses, this peasant resisted, animated by his dignity and love for his land. In the same way, Serbia was decided to resist. After the celestial kingdom with Lazar's sacrifice, Serbia had now to conquer at any cost the terrestrial one. The struggle for its survival, once that the federal solution had disappeared, only went through the building of the Great Serbia; and, according to this theory, and in Milošević's aims, Serbia was wherever Serbs were dead. Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina were therefore Serbian territories, whilst Slovenia could also be considered not important from this point of view; in fact, in 1991, as soon as they had the chance, the Slovenes did not hesitate to leave the federation, after a symbolic attempt of the Yugoslav army to suffocate the initiative (Pirjevec, 1995, 119).

The destiny of Bosnia-Herzegovina was doomed also because of the similar sinister dynamic that the revival of the Croatian identity undergone after 1980. Furthermore, many intellectuals revived the theory according to which Bosnia-Herzegovina, the republic where the Yugoslav experiment was the most successful, was

nothing else than a Tito's invention in order to subtract that region from the Serbo-Croatian confrontation.

However, even the appearance of the Virgin Mary in 1981 in Medjugorje, a secluded village of Herzegovina, was interpreted as a divine sign of national catholic resurrection, both against the orthodox Serbian neighbour, and against the expanding Bosnian Islam.

The Croats were not able to reply with modern and effective methods to the Serbian "cemetery culture" (Pirjevec, 1995, 119) if the Serbs were digging up the past accusing the Croats of the slaughters committed by the Ustaše during the Second World War, the Croats started talking of 'historical rights'. The suitable spokesperson of this Croatian attitude was Franjo Tuđman, leader of the Democratic Alliance, which had a landslide victory on the communists in 1990 elections.

The problem of the Serbian minority in Krajina was not faced: what was worse, Tuđman also considered Croatian-inhabited areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina an integral part of Croatia. The project of a Great Serbia had been therefore faced by the project of a Great Croatia. If Milošević and Tuđman were harsh enemies about Krajina's destiny, they were aiming of dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina between them.

CONCLUSION

The case of Yugoslavia is symptomatic in order to prove the relativity and plasticity of the idea of ethnic identity. Such features are particularly marked in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where different conceptions of ethnicity and nation clashed one against the

other with reference to Bosnian Muslims. In that case, the Croatian and Serbian standpoint opted for a historicist and, probably, primordialist solution. From that point of view, such a stance was the only one able to provide the nationalist discourse and the idea of ethnic identity with an objective value. On the other hand, the mouldable character of ethnicity and nation was more apparent in Muslim reasoning: the psychological element is here a crucial one, fundamentally involving the sense of identification of each single individual with a community. This aspect is very well represented by the fluctuations in the number of those declaring themselves as either Yugoslavs or Muslims in censuses during the years.

In this context, the pursuing of particular political interests was central. No wonder therefore if this relative character of ethnic affiliation has been exploited precisely by those who apparently were supporting a more objective idea of it. Manipulation of the concept of ethnicity by means of a gloomy and funereal use of a symbolism belonging to the past was therefore central in the feeding of ethnic hatred in Yugoslavia. The essay has tried to stress as much as possible on this feature, here considered as a central one for a correct explanation of the phenomenon.

Furthermore, it is evident how the role of different political personalities dramatically affected the lives of million of people; ethnicity on its own was not sufficient to stimulate and justify such atrocities and massacres; people of different habits, origins and religions had lived under the same roof for centuries. Something different had to intervene to turn themselves into merciless ethnic cleansers.

MANIPULACIJA S KONCEPTOM ETNIJE: ETNIČNI KONFLIKTI V NEKDANJI JUGOSLAVIJI

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POVZETEK

Pojem etnične identitete ne more veljati kot zadosten za pojasnitev etničnih konfliktov. To je še en element, ki osvetljuje sorodstveni, relativni značaj etnije in potrebo po preučevanju drugih vidikov, če hočemo, da ga razumemo. Obravnavanje etničnih konfliktov v nekdanji Jugoslaviji v našem primeru razkriva, kako "raztegljiv" je pravzaprav koncept etnične identitete in hkrati "dovzeten" za manipulacijo v politične namene.

Prispevek se začne s kratkim pregledom splošno sprejetih tolmačenj etničnih konfliktov, njihovo zavrnitvijo in poskusom, da se identificirajo druge ocene. Drugi del članka bo zatorej osredotočen na zavajajoči koncept etnije, ki ga je mogoče obravnavati z različnih gledišč, a ga ob upoštevanju njegovega sorodstvenega značaja ne moremo obravnavati kot pojem, ki je razumljiv sam po sebi. Razlogi za požar, ki je izbrisal Jugoslavijo, so zatorej obravnavani z zgodovinskega stališča, s posebnim poudarkom na obdobju po drugi svetovni vojni, in sicer v poskusu ugotoviti, zakaj takšne tragedije ni mogoče pojasniti zgolj s pripadnostjo ljudi različnim etničnim skupinam. Za slednje so potrebne natančne politične in družbene razmere, da postanejo tako pomembne.

Ključne besede: etnija, etnična identiteta, etnični konflikti, etnična manipulacija, nacionalizem, Jugoslavija, Bosna in Hercegovina, Srbi, Hrvati, Bošnjaki

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FROM DIALECT TO LANGUAGE: DIALECTOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN KARST AND SLOVENE ISTRIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the roads and pathways into dialectology that the author, a researcher into Karst and Slovene Istrian speech, has travelled up to the present day: from the initial SDLA-Ts (1987), the first Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of Trieste Province, to the recent SDLA-Kp, a pioneer dialectological lexical atlas of Slovene Istrian speech, available on CD, and the recent publication, A Dialectal Profile of Križ near Trieste, which represents a complete monographic review of the author's native Križ speech.

Key words: dialectological lexical atlases, Karst and Slovene Istrian speech, Križ near Trieste speech

DAL DIALETTO ALLA LINGUA: RICERCHE DIALETTOLOGICHE SUL CARSO E NELL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

SINTESI

L'articolo illustra l'iter dialettologico che l'autrice, una ricercatrice dei dialetti sloveni del Carso e dell'Istria slovena, ha percorso fino ai giorni nostri: dall'iniziale SDLA-Ts (1987), il primo Atlante lessicale dei dialetti sloveni della Provincia di Trieste, al recente SDLA-Kp, un pionieristico atlante lessicale dei dialetti istriani sloveni, disponibile su CD, fino ad arrivare all'ultima pubblicazione, ossia il Profilo dialettale di Santa Croce presso Trieste, che comprende una rassegna monografica completa della parlata natia della ricercatrice.

Parole chiave: atlanti lessicali dialettali, dialetti del Carso e dell'Istria slovena, parlata di Santa Croce presso Trieste

1.1 SDLA-Ts

My journey into dialectology started 30 years ago when I was a student at the Faculty of Arts at Trieste University. Linguistics Professor Mario Doria suggested that my degree thesis could be based on the theme of local dialect. That is the origin of my first dissertation, *Parole d'origine slava nel dialetto triestino* (Trieste, 1973), which offers an etymological analysis of Slavic, but mostly Slovene, borrowings in the Italian Trieste dialect of that time.

After that I became professor of literature, Latin and Greek at the France Prešeren secondary school in Trieste where I stayed for 20 years. Teaching offered me a great deal of satisfaction but a wish in my heart did not cease to live: to research the speech of my native village – Križ near Trieste. Despite feeling close to it, the speech of Križ held many secrets which could only be unveiled through detailed dialectological study and research. I shared my thoughts with Professor Franco Crevatin who accepted my ideas with enthusiasm and suggested devising a research plan for Trieste hinterland vernaculars. My work could only be feasible if preceded by detailed preparation work. This was the starting point for my master's degree thesis, written under the supervision of Professor Tine Logar. Ten Slovene vernaculars, equally distributed throughout the Slovene Trieste surroundings, were chosen. These were the vernaculars of the villages of Medja vas, Mavhinje, Samatorca, Križ, Prosek, Repen, Trebče, Gročana, Mačkolje and Korošci. One of the aims of my work was to write a supplement to the Friulian linguistic atlas, the ASLEF, which covers the whole Venezia Giulia territory where Friulian dialects are present, including the whole of Trieste Romance territory, which from the dialectological point of view used to be Friulian. In the ASLEF, however, only two Slovene vernaculars can be found (3a Zgonik, 9a Žavlje) and these cannot offer a complete picture of the dialectal variety of Slovene speech found in the surroundings of Trieste. For this reason I decided to make a detailed analysis of this area, using an adapted version of the ASLEF questionnaire and carrying out field investigation in 10 villages in the Trieste hinterland. I wanted to bring Professor Logar's and Professor Crevatin's ideas to life, which meant producing the first Slovene dialectological lexical atlas of the Trieste region. In this I succeeded and SDLA-Ts was released in 1987 and published by the School of Modern Languages in Trieste.

My research work consisted of several different phases. First, I thoroughly studied the ASLEF questionnaire. It is mostly lexical and very demanding, requiring from both the researcher and his or her informants a deep insight into the material and spiritual culture of the researched area. The questions it poses are very specific and offer a tool for research into the following aspects: 1) natural phenomena and environment; 2) flora; 3)

animals; 4) hunting; 5) domestic animals, sheep-breeding, apiculture; 6) parts of the human body and diseases; 7) family and children at play; 8) social life; 9) house and its objects; 10) farm tools, crops, work in fields and stables; 11) garden plants and trees, work involved; 12) viticulture; 13) jobs and housework; 14) cattle-breeding and milk production; 15) forestry and wood production.

The original ASLEF questionnaire consists of 816 questions. Some of these were removed, being connected to activities not present in the Trieste region. Thus, the number of questions was reduced to 740.

In the second phase, villages to be researched were defined. Beyond doubt, the location of some of these is more than exceptional. Let me only mention two lying on the extremities of the Trieste territory: Medja vas in the West and Gročana in the East. These are two clustered agrarian villages with only one road leading to each and ending at each. Meeting the villagers, one cannot avoid the impression that time there had stopped. Every person is marked with individuality, reflected in their speech, which cannot be found anywhere else on the Karst where numerous traces of urbanisation and, of course, linguistic interference can be noticed.

Third, suitable informants had to be found. After the completion of field investigation in my native Križ and neighbouring Prosek, relatives and acquaintances helped me make contact with inhabitants of other villages. A chain reaction was triggered and it resulted in a number of people who were not only eager to cooperate but who also introduced me to other people, many of whom were unique. A conversation with the oldest farmer in the village, a witty Karst man, a bit roguish in his speech, was an unforgettable experience. An equally unique character was a blacksmith who showed me miniature models of all his carts. I was offered valuable recollections of people who today are no longer with us. A list of all informants, a real gallery of characters, who made my work feasible, would be too long. I will never forget with what friendliness and enthusiasm they embraced me, a Karst woman among Karst people. A Karst person is a specific type of person: on the outside he may seem as rough as his soil which he had to scratch from Karst rocks, "mysterious statues, motionless, standing and staring at the Karst rocky soil" in the words of a Karst poet. The genuine tie with their soil is also reflected in their love towards their native speech, confronting Romance interference in the everyday struggle for survival.

In the fourth phase, informants' testimonies were tape recorded and later transcribed using phonetic script according to the OLA-transcription. To make it accessible to a wider public, a table detailing the international phonetic script was added to the review of vocalism and consonantism. On the basis of the materials collected,

the atlas was divided into lexical lists and 177 mostly lexical maps, in some instances showing phonetic differentiation in the analysed dialectal territory in the Trieste hinterland. Maps are presented in written form and therefore have no graphic symbols. The phonetic spelling of the words in question can be found near the number of the researched village. Words in question which did not show a relevant lexical differentiation are only recorded if offering a dialectologist an opportunity to come to numerous phonetic and morphological findings.

Phonetic analysis reveals the interaction of 4 Slovene dialects in the speech of the Slovene Trieste territory: the Karst, Venetian-Goriška Brda, Notranjska and Istrian dialects. The strongest element is that of the Karst, evident in the dominance of the Karst vocalism (\hat{e} : > $\hat{i}e$; \hat{o} : > $uo/u\hat{o}/u$; \hat{l} : > u ; \hat{e} : > $\hat{i}e$; \hat{o} : > $uo/u\hat{o}/u$; - \hat{e} > \hat{a} ; - \hat{o} > u) in the Western part of the territory. \hat{a} < \hat{e} : in Mavhinje, Samatorca, Križ and Prosek is of Venetian-Goriška Brda origin. Specific to the Solkan-Lower Vipava Valley is \hat{o} < \hat{a} : followed by n/m in Trebče. Typical of the Western Karst also is u < u : in Medja vas, Mavhinje, and Samatorca, while everywhere else the Notranjska y < u : is used. u < \hat{o} : is of Notranjska origins, too: in Prosek, Repen and Gročana. It is also present in some vernaculars of the Karst dialect but it only appeared after the monophthongisation of $u\hat{o}$, uo , while u < ou is of Notranjska origins; however, it is not surprising that the Karst monophthongisation uo , $u\hat{o}$ > u was caused by the contact between the Notranjska u < ou < \hat{o} : and the Karst uo < \hat{o} :. Furthermore, Notranjska dialectal elements are also e < \hat{e} : spoken in Prosek, Repen and Gročana. This can only be explained if developed from a diphthong $e\hat{i}$ < \hat{e} : - \hat{o} , or - uo < - \hat{o} in Trebče, Gročana, Mačkolje and Korošci, - u < - \hat{o} in Gročana, which also appears as - \hat{o} , typical of all other villages but Prosek, where - uo is used, and Križ where - $u\hat{a}$ < - \hat{o} is used. Specific from the etymological point of view probably is also the Notranjska-Northern Istrian - $u\hat{a}$ < - \hat{o} , used in the speech of Križ, Prosek, Trebče, Gročana, Mačkolje and Korošci, while - \hat{o} / - $u\hat{a}$ is used in Mavhinje and Medja vas, and the monophthong - \hat{o} < - \hat{o} in Samatorca and Repen. The origin of the softening of velars before frontal vowels is the same. This is typical of the speech of Trebče, Gročana, Mačkolje and Korošci, while the phenomenon is not present in the speech of the other villages.

The materials collected also direct us to a lexical differentiation proceeding in two directions:

a) differentiation of Slovene dialectal expressions in comparison with standard Slovene (c.f. SDLA-Ts, maps 39, 108, 129, 264, 289, and 304);

b) differentiation of Slovene dialectal expressions in comparison with Romance borrowings, which are a result of a lifelong symbiosis, inter-dialectal contacts and interference, and the influence of the urban environ-

ment on Slovene and Romance speech in this area (c.f. SDLA-Ts, maps 169, 289, and 299).

Some phonetic phenomena in Romance borrowings prove that in ancient times Friulian and not an Italian Venetian dialect was spoken here. A typical Romance influence is evident in the loss of intonation and quantitative oppositions in stressed Slovene syllables, and a distinctively Romance word and sentence intonation.

Professor Logar, who wrote the foreword to the SDLA-Ts, confirmed that the collected material is invaluable for both Slovene and Italian dialectology. It is invaluable for the Slovenes because it evidently shows in which areas of the material and spiritual culture of this Slovene linguistic territory in Italy the Slovene lexis has changed most due to centuries-long interference between Slovene and Italian-Friulian dialects. On the other hand, it is also of undisputed value for the Italians because with its 177 new maps it represents a significant supplement to the ASLEF.

1.2 SDLA-Kp: The Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of Koper Province

A few months ago the Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of Trieste Province (SDLA-TS) was followed by the Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of Koper Province (SDLA-Kp) with a supplement for agricultural and viticultural terminology (SDLA-Kp Supp.) which represents a continuation of the SDLA-Ts, since it is based on the same questionnaire and criteria. At this moment it is available only on CD, but I hope it will be published soon.

In the framework of my doctoral study I started, with the help of three of my students (Kukanja, Paclich and Počkaj), to work on the SDLA-Kp. The work was divided into various phases. First I had to reanalyze the ASLEF questionnaire which, as mentioned above, is mainly lexical and quite demanding, because it delves deep into the material and spiritual culture of the territory in question. In the next phase, I divided the SDLA-Kp also into the following areas:

1) natural phenomena and environment; 2) agriculture; 3) animals; 4) hunting; 5) domestic animals, apiculture; 6) parts of the human body and diseases; 7) family and children at play; 8) social life; 9) house and its objects; 10) farm tools, crops, field and barn work; 11) garden crops, trees and work involved; 12) viticulture; 13) jobs and housework; 14) cattle-breeding; 15) forestry and wood production.

As before with SDLA-Ts, I eliminated some of the original ASLEF questions since they were connected to activities that are not present in Istria. In the end there were 740 questions left. After that I had to choose localities and suitable informants. The first field investigation engaged a chain of people who not only wanted to cooperate but also to introduce other people who were

in many respects unique. That was precious help from people I will never forget because of their kindness and the enthusiasm with which they cooperated. All their answers were taped and later transcribed in using phonetic script according to the OLA- transcription. On the basis of the collected material I divided the atlas into 740 maps that are mostly lexical but in some cases it is possible to notice the phonetic differentiation of the analyzed dialectal territory of Slovene Istria. The maps are in written form with no graphical symbols. There is only the phonetic spelling of the words in question near the number of the investigated locality. There are 21 localities investigated in Slovene Istria: 1. Malija, 2. Padna, 3. Krkavče, 4. Gažon, 5. Šmarje, 6. Koštabona, 7. Pomjan, 8. Boršt, 9. Marežige, 10. Trebeše, 11. Belvedur, 12. Pregara, 13. Sočerga, 14. Movraž, 15. Osp, 16. Dekani, 17. Črni Kal, 18. Potok, 19. Kubed, 20. Hrastovlje, 21. Gračišče.

The second part of the SDLA-Kp, the SDLA-Kp Supp.¹, which is the supplement of the atlas, consists of material taken from my doctoral dissertation 'Agricultural and Viticultural Terminology in the Dialects of Slovene Istria' (Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana 1994) which is a continuation of Professor Logar's and Professor Crevatin's project to investigate the marginal Slovene dialects in Slovene Istria near the Italian border in relation to agricultural and viticultural terminology (almost half of the questions common to the SDLA-Kp are in the first part of the atlas). I collected the Slovene Istrian dialectal material from 1988 to 1990 under the mentorship of Professor Logar on the basis of a field investigation of 10 localities equally distributed over the entire area (1. Malija, 2. Padna, 3. Krkavče, 4. Gažon, 5. Šmarje, 6. Koštabona, 7. Pomjan, 8. Boršt, 9. Marežige, 10. Trebeše). I used a special questionnaire in the investigation based on ALI (Italian Linguistic Atlas), ASLEF (Historical-Linguistic-Ethnographic Atlas of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia) and SLA (Slovene Linguistic Atlas). There are 978 questions which I divided into seven chapters covering various aspects of agriculture:

- I. Tools, work in the fields and in the barn
- II. Garden and orchard
- III. Viticulture
- VI. Certain plants and trees and operations connected with them
- V. Animal husbandry
- VI. Beekeeping
- VII. Oil production

It is difficult to estimate how many answers were given to those 978 questions since all of them were not always answered and I was quite often given synonyms.

Anyway the total number of answers is not much lower than the theoretical one which is 9780. The answers to approximately 470 questions are exclusively Slovene terms. While for 150 questions the answers are only Romance borrowings. The Slovene terminology is rooted in the names for traditional agricultural tools and work, cereals, animals, domestic fruit and other trees with the exception of those typical of Istria as a Mediterranean country.

Under the guidance of co-mentor Professor Alenka Šivic-Dular I treated the collected material linguistically by choosing 554 Romance borrowings from the sectors of agriculture, gardening, viticulture, beekeeping and oil production.

The time period for the entrance of Romance borrowings into Slovene Istrian dialects varies. Some of them were adopted during the rule of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, while the majority of them were adopted during the period of the Republic of Venice. In the present, borrowings come from the Trieste dialect and standard Italian. Romance influence is common in the sector of viticulture, in botanical terms, especially for Mediterranean fruit trees, tropical fruit, the cultivation of grapevines, vegetables, olives, and spices; as well as, in the sector of many agricultural and viticultural tools.

A detailed etymological analysis of the Slovene Istrian Romance borrowings reveals several layers of Istrian romanization: a Latin, a Friulian, a Venetian, an Istrian Italian, a Trieste Italian and an Italian layer.

1. Latin layer

This is the most difficult layer to define since the Slovenes settled in Istria in the 6th -7th century when Latin words were no longer used. Some of the borrowings are related to the 'Latinitas' of Aquileia, others were created with the addition of the Slovene diminutive suffix (for example: *mej'atca* 'Pail with a handle'). Most of them became part of the standard Slovene language and became cultural words with no synonyms (for example: *vino* 'wine'; *ocet* 'vinegar'...).

2. Friulian layer

This is a heterogeneous layer which extends from the medieval (represented by the Tergestin and Muglisan borrowings) to the modern period (influenced by the languages of Bisiacco and Friuli). It stands out from the phonetic point of view because of its preserved consonant group **pl/bl** which is not an exclusively Friulian characteristic since it is also preserved in the Istrian Venetian dialects: example SDLA-Kp Supp. 548 *flaš'kōn* 'wicker-bottle', from the Friulian synonym *flas'ciōn* (NP

1 This part of the atlas is published now in the monograph Cossutta, 2002.

323), even though it could derive from the Karst term *flaška* 'bottle' created with the addition of the Romance augmentative suffix but this term is not used in the Slovene Istrian dialects.

3. Venetian layer

This layer is the one most represented in the Slovene Istrian dialects, most probably because of long Venetian rule in this territory and in Dalmatia from where Slovene Istria took some Romance borrowings. With the help of numerous dialectal dictionaries I discovered that most of these Venetian borrowings are present in almost all Venetian dialects and they cover various agricultural sectors. The morphological characteristics of the Slovene Istrian Venetian borrowings are:

a) **assumption of the Slovene diminutive suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp Supp. 851 *fə'sālic* 'drain in the barn', SDLA-Kp Supp. 977 *'kojamca* 'container for pouring oil');

b) **adaptation of the infinitive and participle forms of verbs to the Slovene norms with the addition of typical verbal suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp Supp. 389 *nə'kəryət / u'kəryat* 'to load');

c) **Romance adjectives with the addition of Slovene suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp Supp. 209 *'jobəst* 'bent', SDLA-Kp Supp. 958 *'māžni* 'pressing', SDLA-Kp Supp. 609 *'təndəst* 'round');

d) **appearance of metaplasm which is sporadic** (example: SDLA-Supp. 500 *'fəla / 'fəlo* 'hand machine used for sulphurization').

4. Istrian Italian and Trieste Italian layer

This layer includes terms that entered Slovene Istrian dialects from the nearby Italian Istrian environment. Most of them can be also found in the Trieste dialect. Because of their geographical position the Italian Istrian dialects influence the Slovene Istrian dialects more directly than the Trieste Italian dialect even though we can not overlook the fact that at least 18 terms are taken directly from the Trieste Italian.

The Istrian Italian and Trieste Italian borrowings have the same characteristics as the Venetian borrowings.

5. Italian layer

This layer includes 114 terms that were taken directly from the standard Italian with, for the most part, no phonetic or morphological changes. A limited group of Italian borrowings have characteristics that are typical of the Slovene Istrian Romance borrowings, such as:

a) **diminutives with Slovene suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp 81 *bə'rətcə* 'the cup of an acorn', SDLA-Kp Supp. 438 *'čimca* 'plant', SDLA-Kp Supp. 564 *'dɔɣica* 'front stave');

b) **adjectives with Slovene suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp Supp. 906 *š'telast* 'piebald (of a horse)', SDLA-Kp Supp. 875 *'maɣər* 'skimmed (cheese)');

c) **verb infinitives with Slovene prefixes and suffixes** (example: SDLA-Kp Supp. 192 *konči'merat* 'to fertilize').

Great semantic ramification is shown by the Italian borrowing (295, 334, 363, 593, 638, 955) *š'korčā* which can mean 1) 'nut husk', 2) 'nutshell', 3) 'pea husk', 4) 'bark', 5) 'cup of an acorn', 6) 'olive skin'.

The etymological analysis of Romance borrowings is not used only to discover multiple layers and the ramification of Slovene Istrian agricultural terminology. In fact the results of this research clearly show the relation between different layers: the Venetian layer represents 40% of all Romance borrowings in this territory, followed by the Istrian Italian and Trieste Italian layer (30%), the Italian layer (20%) while the smallest part belongs to the Friulian and Latin borrowings (10%).

1.3 SDLA-Ts : SDLA-Kp (A dialectal lexical comparison)

I am mostly interested in the terminology of dialects situated at the crossroads of the Romance and Slavic world with strong Germanic influence. For this reason they are submitted to mutual interference. By comparing both atlases we can sketch basic characteristics of this phenomenon giving particular importance to Romance and Germanic elements as well as the Slavic component which is usually geographically determined. Let's take a look at some examples taken from the chapter about viticulture:

574. **Grapevine, vinska trta, ceppo di vite**; Q. ASLEF 519:

Slovene Karst and Istrian territory is homogeneously covered by the Slavic term *'tərta*.

576. **Espalier, latnik, pergola**; Q. ASLEF 525:

In the whole Karst territory the terms *'latnik* and *'latniak* are present. The first also covers homogeneously the eastern part of Istria (point 14-21), that is one third of all Istria, while in the rest of Istrian territory we find the Romance borrowing *'perjola* which can also be found in the whole of the Venetian area (Boerio 492; GDDT 450; Rosamani 762; Tomasi 141; Vascotto 206), with the variant *'perjula* (point 7, 8) which relates to the Bisiacco and Muglisian borrowing *pergula* (DDM 118; Domini 332).

580. **Sort of grapevine, vrsta trt, filare di viti**; Q. ASLEF 524:

We can find the Romance borrowings *p'lanta* (to compare with the Friulian term *plànte*) and *rə'ɣada* (to compare with the Italian term *riga*) in the whole of northern and central Karst, while the southern part uses *pə'riet* (to compare with the Istrian Italian synonym *parè*, Rosamani 736; Trieste Italian *paredo*, GDDT 435) which is the same Romance borrowing used in the major part of Slovene Istria. The Slovene Istrian word in

point 1 *l'raña*, which is also a Romance borrowing, remains isolated (to compare with Istrian Italian (Piran) *liragna* (Rosamani 545).

581. **A bunch of grapes, grozd, grappolo;** Q. ASLEF 526:

The Slavic term *γ'rost*, which saw different phonetic reflexes, covers homogeneously the whole of Slovene Istria and Karst. Only the Slovene Istrian term in point 1 *r'čela* meaning 'a small bunch of grapes' relates to the Italian Istrian term *ricèla* 'id.' (Rosamani 878) which can be interpreted from the etymological point of view in different ways (GDDT 525). Also the Karst term in point 5, *'rapla* 'a small bunch of grapes', reflects a Romance borrowing (to compare with the Friulian *rap*, NP 849; Trieste Istrian Italian *rapo* (GDDT 511).

589. **A press, stiskalnica, strettoio da vino;** Q. ASLEF 534:

Comparison of Karst and Istria shows that the whole northern and central part of the Karst area adopted the term *p'reša*, which can also be found in the Trieste Italian and Istrian Italian term *pressa* which is a deverbal form of the verb *pressare*, while Zamboni (Zamboni, Romanismi 589) interprets it as a Germanic borrowing (< Ancient High German *pressa* 'press'). Sporadic (point 8) is *'vinta* (from Middle High German Bavarian *winte*, from German *Winde*, Snoj 719). The whole southern part of Karst and a great part of Slovene Istria use the Slavic term *s'tisk*. In Slovene Istria the Romance borrowings *p'reša*, *št'renta* and *št'ruk*, felt by the speakers to be modern terms, are sometimes used as synonyms.

594. **Willow tree, vrba, vermena di salcio;** Q. ASLEF 539:

In the whole of the Karst region only the term *'bieka* is used (in locality 1 *'baka*) of unknown origin (Bezljaj I 16). In western Istria we find the Romance borrowing *'venka*, which is an example of metaplasm of the Trieste Italian and Istrian Italian term *vénco*, while in the whole of eastern and southern Istria the Slavic term *'beka* is used.

602. **Brandy, žganje, acquavite;** Q. ASLEF 546:

The Germanic borrowing *š'nopc* (from German *Schnaps*) prevails in the whole of Karst with the exception of locality number 10 where the Romance borrowing *t'rapa* is used as a synonym. In the major part of Slovene Istria the Slavic term *ž'gañe* is used. Only localities 11 Belvedur, 12 Pregara and 13 Sočerga use the Serbo-Croatian borrowing *ra'kija* which has Turkish origin (Snoj 522). In the eastern part we can find the Romance borrowing *t'rapa*, *pe'teš* and the Germanic borrowing *š'nops*, all of them used as modern synonyms for *ž'gañe*.

615. **Cooper, sodar, bottaio;** Q. ASLEF 561:

Besides the generally used Germanic borrowing *'pintar* and the sporadic Slavic borrowing *so'dar* a very interesting phenomenon can be found in the extreme northern and the extreme southern localities of the Karst area where *bu'tier* / *bo'ter* are used. These are terms re-

lated to Trieste Italian and Istrian Italian *botèr* / Istrian Italian *butier* that covers all the Venetian area and western Slovene Istria. We can also find here the Romance borrowing *m'arən'yon* which has questionable origins and the Serbo-Croatian *'báčvar* (from *'báčva* 'barrel'). The eastern part of Slovene Istria co-ordinates the Slavic borrowing *so'dar* with a whole series of Germanic borrowings (*'pintar*, *'tišlar*, *'majstər*) and the above mentioned *bo'tier*.

From the given examples we can conclude that the Istrian Germanic-Romance interference is one of the most important characteristics of these dialects. The existence of an exclusive usage of Slavic terms is rare (for example: grapevine, a bunch of grapes) or it does not exist at all. The Romance and the Germanic borrowings can be defined exactly in the Karst and Slovene Istrian area, so that a continuity between Karst and Istria is created and sometimes interrupted by a Germanic or Romance borrowing in the demarcation locality. It is also very interesting that the speakers themselves feel that the Germanic and Romance borrowings are modern terms that have slowly supplanted previously well rooted Slavic words. They even try to use them as synonyms, but you get the feeling that especially the Romance influence is so strong that the speakers use the borrowing more than the genuine Slovene term.

Such is the present situation of Slovene Istria and Karst. We must not overlook the lexical wealth of this area which is well seen in its dialectal ramification and multilingualism.

1.4 Dialectal Profile of Križ near Trieste (*Narečna podobna Križa pri Trstu*)

My recent monograph, published by the Science and Research Centre of the Republic of Slovenia, Koper, *Narečna podoba Križa pri Trstu* (Cossutta, 2001) is a synthesis of a prolonged dialectological research which I began in 1986 in my native village of Križ (S. Croce) near Trieste, when collecting material for the Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of Trieste Province using the ASLEF questionnaire in ten villages of the Trieste hinterland. Through the SLA questionnaire I also gathered a great amount of material about the domestic idiom of Križ, which eventually became the scientific background for my further dialectological studies. Thus the book grew up which is, in its first part in fact, a description of my native village's spoken language at different levels: phonetic, morphological, lexical and partially syntactical. I also added a dialectal text as presented to me by my father, while in the synthesis I summed up my findings with the assessment that the speech of Križ is indeed a language of Karst, although with a high degree of interaction between the phonetic features of four Slovene dialects spoken in the regions of Goriška Brda, Karst, Notranjska and Istria. At the lexical

level, frequent Romance and Germanic interference is reflected in it, which is the fundamental feature of the language and a proof of the centuries-old symbiosis of people of different nationalities in this area.

In its second part, the book brings two onomastic dialectological discussions, i.e. *Old names of generally known local places at Križ* and *House names of Križ*. In my first contribution, I collected a fair amount of the names of the village's generally known local places and

ascertained, on the basis of their etymological analysis, the former structure of the village and some of the activities which have totally disappeared. In my contribution covering the village's house names I attempted, on the other hand, to extract the morphological and lexical elements that reveal not only Križ's past but are also a means to ascertain the multifold Križ language from the aspect of its features which intertwine with those of the neighbouring Romance and Germanic environments.

OD NAREČJA DO JEZIKA: DIALEKTOLOŠKE RAZISKAVE NA KRASU IN V SLOVENSKI ISTRI

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POVZETEK

Prispevek osvetljuje dialektološko pot, ki jo je avtorica, kot raziskovalka kraških in istrskoslovenskih govorov, prehodila do danes, začevši s SDLA-Tsom (1987), prvim slovenskim dialektološkim leksikalnim atlasom Tržaške pokrajine, ki prinaša bogato gradivo, zbrano v desetih raziskovalnih točkah v zaledju Trsta po vprašalnici za furlanski lingvistični atlas ASLEF. Rezultat glasoslovne analize tega narečnega izrazja izpričuje v govorih slovenskega tržaškega ozemlja prepletanje narečnih glasoslovnih pojavov štirih slovenskih narečij (kraškega, beneško-briškega, notranjskega in istrskega), njegova leksikalna razčlemba pa razkriva tudi diferenciacijo kraškega besedja in pojav interferenč s sosednjimi romanskimi govori.

Avtorica je pravkar dokončala tudi SDLA-Kp, Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas koprške pokrajine, trenutno na zgoščenki, ki navaja odgovore po že omenjeni vprašalnici ASLEF v enaindvajsetih vaseh slovenske Istre. Drugi del atlasa pa je osredinjen na istrskoslovensko poljedelsko in vinogradniško terminologijo, zbrano po obsežni vprašalnici (978 vprašanj) v desetih vaseh slovenske Istre. Ta del je zdaj izšel tudi v knjižni obliki v monografiji Poljedelsko in vinogradniško izrazje v slovenski Istri (Knjižnica Annales, 26) z razpravo o jezikovni večplastnosti tega območja, ki jo avtorica utemeljuje z novim pristopom v odkrivanju šestih jezikovnih plasti (latinske, furlanske, beneške, istrskoitalijanske, tržaškoitalijanske in italijanske). Na osnovi obeh atlasov se avtorica loteva primerjave istrskoslovenskega in tržaškoslovenskega gradiva, opirajoč se na natančno etimološko razčlemba, iz katere je razviden pojav interferenčnih vplivov z romanskim in germanskim okoljem.

Atlasa dopolnjuje tudi knjiga Narečna podoba Križa pri Trstu (Knjižnica Annales, 25), v kateri je obdelala rodni kriški govor na različnih ravninah (glasoslovni, oblikoslovni, leksikalni in delno skladenjski ravni). V monografijo je vključila tudi narečno besedilo in dve razpravi o kriškem imenstvu, in sicer Kriška ledinska imena in Kriška hišna imena, ki sestavljata mozaik kriške preteklosti z vidika romanskih in germanskih interferenčnih vplivov.

Ključne besede: dialektološki leksikalni atlas, kraški in slovensko-istrski govori, govor Križa pri Trstu

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ABOUT THE ISTRIAN-ROUMANIAN FORMS OF THE *SPLIRA* TYPE

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the etymology of the Istrian-Romanian forms of spleen of the splira type and the corresponding term splină. After the introductory part about the Istrian-Roumanian idioms on the basis of the Istrian-Roumanian forms for spleen, the etymological proposal (which the Romanian expression sees as a new Greek loan-word), offered in a couple of newer editions by the most reputable Romanian dictionaries, which are also actively engaged in etymology, is attempted to be slowed down and the old etymological solution of the great Meyer-Lübke confirmed.*

Key words: Istrian-Romanian forms, Istria, language, etymological proposal

A PROPOSITO DELLE FORME ISTRORUMENE DEL TIPO *SPLIRA*

SINTESI

Nel presente saggio si discute l'etimologia delle forme istrorumene che esprimono il concetto di "milza" del tipo splira e della rispettiva forma rumena splină. Dopo la parte introduttiva, nella quale vengono trattati gli idiomi istrorumeni, le forme istrorumene dovrebbero dimostrare quale errata la proposta etimologica offerta nei due dizionari moderni della lingua rumena (che concernono anche l'etimologia), dove il rum. splină viene interpretato come un prestito neogreco, e dare invece ragione al grande Meyer-Lübke.

Parole chiave: forme istrorumene, Istria, lingua, proposta etimologica

* The introductory part is not in proportion to the size of the article itself, but as we are dealing with the newest field data we believe it useful to publish the Introduction in English.

For the Istro-Roumanian forms we recorded we invented a graph which we've presented for inclusion into the *Istro-Roumanian Linguistic Atlas* (in print). It is a somewhat adapted Croatian Latin alphabet, to which graphemes were added expressing the Istrian-Roumanian special syllables:

- ă – posteriorly hollow a
- ɛ – very open e
- ə – semitone, as heard between *v* and *r* in the Croatian word *vrt* – corresponds to Roumanian *ă*
- č – very softened č
- š – softened š
- ž – softened ž
- z – initial syllable in Ital. *zelo*
- ǰ – syllable between Croatian *ž* and *d*
- ɣ – velar sound fricative, as in Spanish *lago*
- l̥ – Croatian *lj*
- ñ – Croatian *nj*

The accent is annotated by underlining the accentuated vowel.

The *Chakavian* forms recorded by us are marked as customary in the Croatian dialectological literature.

The forms from the literature are strictly transmitted as per the original.

1. *The Istro-Roumanian speech, in Brief*

The Istro-Roumanians are probably descendants of the Balkan Vlachs who are as Vlachs or perhaps Morlakes referred to by numerous medieval documents from Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina (here it should be underlined that in historical documents these names are used for some other ethnic groups as well – e.g. Orthodox inhabitants of Dalmatian Zagora – which is the reason why every record referring to the Vlachs or Morlakes can not, and should not, be immediately associated with the Roumanian ethnicity). The Vlach stockbreeders in Istria were mentioned for the first time in the 12th century, but the present-day Istroroumanophones are probably descendants of the Vlachs, who were at the end of the 15th century and in the early 16th century brought from the Dalmatian hinterland, i.e. from the area around the Dinara Mountain Chain and the Velebit Mts., first of all to the island of Krk and then to Istria, into the areas depopulated by recurring plagues and malaria. The majority of these immigrants were Croats. There are also some theories about the autochthonous nature of Istrian Roumanophones (Covaz, Maioreescu, Onciul), but these theses have been more or less rejected. Supporting the theory that they have come from the stated areas are the numerous Chakavian elements in the Istro-Roumanian idioms, which cannot be found in the Istrian autochthonous idioms and which many, mostly Roumanian, authors often, although without proper authentication, ascribe to the loanwords from the surrounding Slovene

dialects – the same as they do with *Chakavisms*, which exist in the Istrian autochthonous idioms but correspond to Slovene words (e.g. *vǎrbē* "willow", *veruǵe* "chain", *škutē* "curd cheese", etc.). As late as the 19th century, the Roumanophones inhabited the area of Dubašnica and Poljice on the island of Krk (in 1819, Ivan Feretić, a priest, recorded the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary, published by S. Pușcariu in 1929). Roumanian idiom cognate with the Istro-Roumanian is today no longer spoken on the island of Krk, for it ceased to exist somewhere in the first half of the 19th century. Only traces in toponymy have remained (e.g. *Vrhure* = *Vrh* + *-ure* "Roumanian plural form for the nouns of the neuter gender", *Sekara* "rye") and some appellatives (e.g. *puljić* "bird" [*<*Krko-Roumanian **pǔlu* (confirmed as Istro-Roumanian) *<* lat. **pǔllius* "young animal", REW 6826 – in standard Roumanian *pui* meaning "chicken", while *pasăre* denotes a bird], *čura*, *čuralo* "sieve"). As far as Istria is concerned, the Istro-Roumanian idiom was more widespread than today. In support of this are numerous toponyms (e.g. *Katun*, *Kature*, *Fečori* = pl. of *fečor* "child, boy"), surnames (e.g. *Katunarić*, *Licul*, *Faraguna* *<* Roum. *fără gună* "without" + "shepherd's overcoat", *Poropat* = *poro* *<* Rou. *fără*, Istro-Roumanian *fâr(a)* "without", spoken by the Croats before the 15th century, while the Slavs did not yet know the phoneme /f/, and it was therefore transferred either as /p/ or as /v/, + *pat* "bed") and appellatives (e.g. *stȑpla* "a sheep that has not given birth to a lamb" = nominal Rom. adjective *sterp*, *stearpă* "unfertile": comp. Rom. *vacă stearpă* "barren sheep") (DULR, V/196, s. v. *sterp*).

The Istro-Roumanian, which is in view of the number of its speakers the smallest of the four historical Roumanian dialects, is today spoken only in ten Istrian villages or settlements. According to the basic division of the Istro-Roumanian idioms they are divided into the northern and southern idioms. The speakers of the first group live in the village of Žejane (Istro-Roumanian *Žejan*) situated on the northern slope of Mt. Učka northwest of Rijeka, the speakers of the second group on the northern and western edges of Čepićko Polje in a few hamlets of the Kršan Council. The village of Žejane has 102 houses (many in a very bad state, and quite a few of them abandoned) and one hundred inhabitants, 20 of whom are under 20 years of age. All of them understand Istro-Roumanian, while the great majority actually speaks it (including a few women who have come from neighbouring non-Istro-Roumanian villages and married the locals). It should be taken into consideration, however, that most of these villagers do not live permanently at Žejane but in the nearby towns (Opatija, Lovran, Matulji, etc.) but visit their native place mostly on weekends, where they have a cultural-arts society but have not had, for years, even a single pub. Still, the villagers are closely-knit and remain willing to look after their own traditions, and if the population would not

have continued to migrate from the village, the future of the Istro-Roumanian idiom would remain bright: according to the estimates by A. Kovačec, between 450 and 500 Istro-Roumanophones lived at Žejane in the early 1960s, while according to the 1991 census only 189 people still inhabited the village, which more or less corresponds to the number of the people speaking the language. In the south, the Istro-Roumanophones are dispersed in small villages and their total number is even smaller than at Žejane. They are not closely-knit and have no cultural societies – at Šušnjeveca indeed stands an inn which is mostly empty and often closed. According to our judgment (or, preferably, counts), Istro-Roumanian is spoken only by ninety people in the southern villages. There are virtually no children speakers left. According to Kovačec, between 800 and 1.000 speakers lived there in the early 1960s, while according to the 1991 census the total number of inhabitants in the places where Istro-Roumanian was still spoken, was 338, which in contrast to the case of the inhabitants of Žejane does not mean the number of speakers, and can in our opinion be arrived at by subtracting a little more than half of the people from the 1991 census from the stated number. The greatest number of the Istro-Roumanophones, i.e. 40, live at Nova Vas (Istro-Roumanian *Noselo* or *Nosela*), 30 at Šušnjeveca (*Sušņevicē* or *Šušņevicē*), and 30 at Jesenovik (Istro-Roumanian *Sukodru*) with its appurtenant hamlets. In the remaining places with a single exception they can literally be counted on one hand. At Letaj there are three of them: a man who was actually born there (he understands the idiom well, but cannot speak it) and two women: one brought the idiom with her from her native Trkovci (today an empty hamlet belonging to Brdo), while the other acquired her knowledge at Šušnjeveca Primary School. The village of Brdo (Istro-Roumanian *Bārda* or *Bārdo*) is today inhabited by two people, both Istro-Roumanian, while at Kostrčani (*Kostarčān*) the Istro-Roumanian idiom is spoken by six people (including a man from Labin who grew up at Nova Vas and learned the Istro-Roumanian there) out of the eighteen villagers, and at Zankovci (Istro-Roumanian *Zānkovci*) by five people (one of them recently came from *Dolinščina*, the hamlet which remained empty after his departure) out of the six villagers. The hamlet of Miheli has three Istro-Roumanian speakers (two men who were born there and a woman who had come from Dražina and married here – out of the six people still living at Dražina, only one is Istro-Roumanophone. Of the four people living in the hamlet of Draga, two speak Istro-Roumanian, while in the hamlet of Jelavići the idiom is spoken only by one of its three inhabitants. Istro-Roumanian has been until recently spoken in few more hamlets: Trkovci, Perasi (Istro-Roumanian *Perāsi*), Grobnik (*Gromnik*) (the last speaker, Literat Pahor died in 1998), and Gradinje.

Therefore, the total number of Istro-Roumanophones does not exceed 200. To this number, however, those Istro-Roumanians should also be added who migrated to the city centres of Istria and Kvarner, as well as those who migrated to the United States, Australia and Western Europe – according to some investigations, the first generation of Istro-Roumanophone emigrants retains its native idiom well. To be absolutely precise, the number of the idiom's speakers should be increased by a smaller number of those originating from the families where chakavian is spoken and by various immigrants (with a single Albanian among them).

The expression *Istro-Roumanian* is of scholarly origin and has been used in Romance studies for more than a century. The inhabitants themselves, however, do not call themselves as such. In his *Historia di Trieste* published in 1698, the Italian historian Ireneo della Croce dedicated fifty lines to what he referred to as Chichis. He was the first to quote 23 Istro-Roumanian words and syntagmas with translations in Italian and Latin and further stated that these inhabitants called themselves *Rumeri*. If the statement is correct, the Istro-Roumanians referred to themselves as *Rumār* in the 17th century, which precisely corresponds to the ethnic *Rumân* (and to the Aroumanian *Armân*), which was according to the Lat. *Romanus* transformed in scholarly manner into *Român*. It is not clear, however, how the Istro-Roumanians could have lost their own name in two centuries and how this name could not have survived in any other Istrian idiom. According to all censuses carried out after World War II, the Istro-Roumanians have declared themselves the same as the neighbouring inhabitants in Istria. They do not consider themselves part of the Roumanian national body and call themselves as they declared in the censuses, while their narrower affiliation is expressed according to the place in which they live: *Žejānci* "the inhabitants of Žejane", *Sušņevci* or *Šuš- ņevci* "the inhabitants of Šušnjeveca", *Kostarčānci* "the inhabitants of Kostrčani", *Novošāni* (chakavian *Novošani*) "the inhabitants of Nova Vas", *Brijāni* "the inhabitants of Brdo", etc. Particularly at Žejane they are declaring themselves Croats. The surrounding inhabitants call the Istro-Roumanians the Vlachs or the Chichi, but they themselves do not call themselves as such. They refer to their idiom using the adjective of the place in which they live: *Žejānski*, *Sušņevski* or *Šušņevski*, *Novošānski*, *Brijānski*, etc. or with syntagmas (*Kuvintā*) *po Žejānsku* (in Žejanski manner), (*ganĕj*) *po Sušņevsku* or *po Šušņevsku*, *po Novošānsku*, *po Brijānsku*, etc. In the southern villages, their language is also called *Vlāški*, "the Vlachian," or *Vlāška lĭmbē*, "the Vlach language," or *po Vlāšku*, "in the Vlach manner". In the literature we can read that for "speaking Istro-Roumanian" the syntagmas of the *po nāški*, *po nāšu*, *po nāše* (in our manner) type are also used by the Istro-Roumanians. According to our investigations, the syntagmas of this type in the Istro-

Roumanian always indicate, at least presently, the Chakavian dialect, but we presume that such was the case, at least in the southern villages for which data are at hand, earlier on as well, for the syntagma is used in the same manner by the Istro-Roumanians who emigrated to the States before or after World War II.

In relation to other Roumanian dialects, the Istro-Roumanian is most similar to the Dako-Roumanian, and to a great extent it differs from all Roumanian dialects of the Roumanian language due to the different adstrates: the Istro-Roumanian has no Turcisms, with the exception of those assumed from Chakavian idioms (e.g. *žep* "pocket"), it has no neo-Grecisms, and no phenomena conditioned by the so-called Balkan linguistic union (object is not repeated with personal pronoun, the syntagma *da + present* has no function of infinitives, but the infinitive, which is, in contrast to the standard Roumanian, always without *a*, is used as in Chakavian language) are known. For some centuries lasting saturations with the Chakavian idioms are the reason for the ever increasing word for word translation of Croatian grammatical and lexical models as well, which is why the order of words in the Istro-Roumanian idiom has been over centuries equated with the Chakavian dialect group. At the same time, two new grammatical categories were developed: neuter gender of the Slav type (formed with the aid of morphemes *-o*), which displaces the neuter gender of the Roumanian type (bi-gender), and verbal aspect (the Istro-Roumanian thus became the only Romance idiom which distinguishes perfective, imperfective and iterative verbs that are formed with the aid of Chakavian morphemes). Under the influence of the Chakavian idiom, in all places where Istro-Roumanian is spoken, except at Šušnjeveca and Nova Vas, the opposition of the definite vs. indefinite article is lost for many nouns of female gender ending with *-ε* by the change of this uneconomical voice into *-a*, which equates the forms for definite and indefinite articles (e.g. *o kâprε* "one goat" - *kâpra* "the goat" --> *o kâpra* - *kâpra*). Indeed there are also elements that are common to the Istro-Roumanian and other Roumanian dialects. The old glossary tallies in all Roumanian dialects, including the Istro-Roumanian, find that the form for dative is equal to the form for genitive, the definite article is postponed, the accent is never put on the article and does not change in derived forms if there are no phonetic changes. The Istro-Roumanian, too, uses rotation of the intervocal *l*, which is transformed into *r*, but the rotation *n > r* (eg. *bur* "good" - Roum. *bun*, *mjre* "to me" - Roum. *mine*, *p̄are* "bread" - Roum. *pâine*) distinguishes it at the synchronous level from the other Roumanian dialects, while at the diachronous level it brings it into relation to the idioms spoken in Maramureş. Some Roumanian linguists (Popovici, Caragiu-Marioţeanu)

thus insist that the Istro-Roumanian was formed north of the Danube, while Popovici further claims that the Istro-Roumanian is in fact a Dako-Roumanian dialect transferred to Istria.

As has already been said, the Istro-Roumanian idioms are basically divided into the northern and southern idioms. Between these two groups, however, there has been no connection for a very long time (and, considering the configuration of the terrain, there were none even at the time of immigration), which means that they have developed totally independent of each other.

The Žejane's idiom is more conservative than the southern idioms: it has retained more of the old Roumanian words (e.g. *kuvintă* "to speak" at Žejane vs. *găgji* in the south, *ănceleže* "to understand" vs. *rezumi* or *kapi*, *oste* "war" vs. *vojske* or *gverε*), the two case synthetic declension has been protected much better than in the south. Still, in southern villages the imperfect (*jo lukrăjam* "I was accustomed to work") and the bi-gender (e.g. *ur hrušt* "May beetle" [*Melolontha melolontha*] - *doj hrušture* at Žejane vs. *ur hrušt* - *do hrušture* in southern villages) have survived; so in this respect the southern idioms are more conservative than the northern ones.

Southern villages are more open to various innovations than Žejane. The difference in the borrowed glossary is great due to the different types of idioms in the Žejane and Čepić areas (e.g. *tisuc* "thousand" at Žejane vs. *milăr* in the south).¹

There is some difference between southern idioms themselves, and this at the lexical (e.g. *âze* "today" at Brdo vs. *âsteze* at Šušnjeveca) and the vocal levels (e.g. *mulărε* at Šušnjeveca vs. *mulăre* at Brdo). Until recently, the village of Šušnjeveca, and a minor part of Nova Vas, differed from other places by the fact that the voices *c*, *z*, *s* od *č*, *ž*, *š* were not distinguished there (whistling voices were mainly realised): today there is only a single speaker who effectuates, although very rarely, his sentences by using only whistling phonemes and effectuates the opposition with somewhat softened rustling voices except *č* vs. *c*, therefore *č*, *ž*, *š* vs. *c*, *z*, *s*. Some effectuate these phonemes also by the stated opposition, while the rest of the Šušnjeveca villagers consistently distinguish between rustling and whistling phonemes.

In all places – except at Šušnjeveca and Nova Vas, where it has been consistently preserved – the tendency is noted that the final open *-ε* in nouns of female gender turns into *-a*, which still enables the opposition *sing.* vs. *plur.* also in the nouns forming a plural ending with *-e*, although, as already said, it causes opposition between the articles: *o kâsε* "one house" - *do kâsε* "two houses" at Šušnjeveca and Nova Vas; *o kâsa* - *do kâsε* in other places. In the majority of the old nouns, i.e. those *sing.* and *plur.* opposition is still retained; as such nouns that substantially differ from the Istro-Venetian and Itali-

1 But: *Tisuc drăc in țire!* "A thousand devils in you!" – recorded at Jesenovik.

an forms, the open *ɛ* turns into ordinary *e*, although the have no plur. ending with *-e* (e.g. *o muľare* "one woman" - *do muľer* "two women" at Źejane). The tendency is also clearly perceived in all Istro-Roumanian idioms of the forms for sing. and plur. of the nouns of male gender are equated (e.g. *ur škåkovæc* "one grasshopper" - *doj škåkovæc* "two grasshoppers"), although in the majority of the old nouns the more or less original plural type has survived (e.g. *ur pork* "one pig" - *doj porč* "two pigs").

The Istro-Roumanian idioms have from the times of migration developed outside institutions of any kind, which means, along with a century-old Istro-Roumanian-Croatian bilingualism, a lack of original folklore and any feeling of affiliation with Roumanian ethnicity. This, in addition to the constant decrease in the number of the speakers, is why the linguistic picture of the Istro-Roumanian idioms has substantially changed already after some two or three decades. But as the things stand today, the interval of change will consistently shorten until Istro-Roumanian totally disappears from everyday use. It can be presumed, however, that it will survive and be used longer abroad than at home.

2. Expressions for spleen

At Źejane, we recorded *šplīra*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a*, at Šušnjevića and Nova Vas *splīre*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a*, at Jesenovik² *splīra*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a*. At Brdo, Škabići, Trkovci, Zankovci, Miheli and Kostrčan, the Croatian loanword *slezina*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a* is used, while at Letaj the diminutive of the same word, i.e. *slezenica*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a* is in use. The Croatian loanword is also used, along with the domestic form, at Źejane: *slezena*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a*, while at Čepić the Croats have borrowed the Istro-Roumanian form *spīpra* for this word (by courtesy of Prof. Fabio Stemberga, the former student of the the Faculty of Letters in Pula).

In the available Istro-Roumanian lexical repertoires,³ only Kovačec and Maiorescu present the following form: Kovačec the Źejane *šplīra* "spleen" (AK, 191), and Maiorescu the *splină* and *spliră*.⁴

Our forms correspond to the Roum. *Splină*. In Roumanian dictionaries we can read:

a. "*splină* f. 1. organ limfatic moale și spongios de culoare roșie-violetă, situat în partea superioară stîngă a

cavități abdominale, care produce limfocite, anticorpi, depozitează globule rosii etc. Din gr. mod. *splīna*, lat. *splen*." (DULR, V/174).

b. "*splină* f. 1. Organ anatomic intern, moale și spongios, de culoare roșie-violetă, situat în partea superioară stîngă a cavității abdominale, care produce limfocite, anticorpi, depozitează sângele etc. Din ngr. *splīna*. (DEX, 1011).

Both Roumanian dictionaries available to us state that the term is a loanword from the neo-Grecian language, which is somewhat problematic considering that the Istro-Roumanian in fact has no neo-Grecisms and Turcisms (except those assumed by the Istro-Roumanians through Chakavian idioms – e.g. *žep*) – which is one of the linguistic indicators that the Istro-Roumanians separated from the Roumanian before Turkish and neo-Grecian words began to enter the Roumanian diasystem north of the Danube. The form *splīre* is therefore not a neo-Grecism, owing to which we insist that it is not economical to interpret in this way either the Roum. *Splină*, as is desired by the authors of DEX and DULR (according to the latter, the word came into the Roumanian language through neo-Grecian and, in turn, from Latin). Mayer-Lübke was certainly right when he derived the Rom. *splină* directly from Lat. *splēn*, *splēne*, "Miltz" (REW, 8164). It is therefore strange that the authors of these dictionaries did not take this into account. Which arguments led them to believe that the proposed etymological solution from REW should be rejected? This means that in Roumanian dialects and standard language the form for spleen is a domestic word, which was unique in the entire Roumanian territory even before the Istro-Roumanians crossed the Danube. The form of the same etymology, i.e. *splīnă*, is also used by the Roumanians in Serbia, (by courtesy of Prof. Paun Durlić, Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Majdanpek).

The neo-Grecian word has the same etymology as Roumanian forms for spleen, while Latin etymon left traces in English as well: apart from *spleen*,⁵ Richard John Cunliffe cites the Latin etymon *splēn*, associating it with the Greek *splēn* and the Sanskrit *plihan* (CED, 304). Of the idioms of northern Italy, in which the same etymology was formed, let us mention just the Friulian *splēnze* "milza" (PIR, 1097) and the Venetian *spienza* "milza" (BOE, 689).

2 At Jesenovik we also recorded *lećica*, pl. *-e*, art. *-a* "fibrous casing around spleen".

3 IM, ES, TC, RS-VF1/2, JP.

4 The form with *-n-* must certainly be rejected as incorrect (Roumanian hypercorrectism), while final *-ă*, which is stated in both forms, should be taken with due reservation – words ending with *-ă* are also cited by Popovici, who happens to be more reliable than Maiiorescu – for while we cannot prove with utmost certainty that the Istro-Roumanians did not speak like this more than a century ago, we are convinced that it is the case of "Romanian ear", which is accustomed to hearing this phenomenon. We insist that voice [I] had developed into a wide *e*, which we record as *F*, before the time of Popovici's and Maiorescu's recordings.

5 Manlio Cortelazzo and Carla Marcato consider the Piedmont *splin* an Anglicism in the sense of "stizza, bile, collera"; from Engl. *spleen* in the sense of "hypochondria" it came into this Italian dialect through the medium of the French as a language of culture (DIDE 412).

O ISTRSKO-ROMUNSKIH OBLIKAH TIPA *SPLIRA*

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POVZETEK

Avtor razpravlja o etimologiji istrsko-romunskih oblik za vranico tipa *splira* in odgovarjajočega romunskega termina *splină*. Po uvodnem delu o istrsko-romunskih govorih na temelju istrsko-romunskih oblik za vranico poskuša kritizirati etimološki predlog (ki romunski izraz vidi kot novogrško izposojenko), ponujen v dveh novih izdajah najuglednejših romunskih slovarjev, ki se ukvarjata tudi z etimologijo, in potrditi staro etimološko rešitev velikega Meyer-Lübkeja.

Ključne besede: istrsko-romunske oblike, Istra, jezik, etimološki predlog

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BILINGUALISM THROUGH THE EYES OF MONOLINGUALS AND BILINGUALS. ATTITUDES OF ADOLESCENTS FROM SLOVENIA AND ITALY

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ABSTRACT

In the first part of the article the reader is acquainted with some considerations on intercultural communication and bilingualism, followed by an introduction to attitudes and a more precise discussion about consequences of a more or less successful acquisition of the first (L1) and of the second language (L2).

In the second part of the article empirical results of a study conducted on 277 last-graders from Slovene Istria and from Italian Friuli Venezia Giulia are presented. Results show evidence of the existence of differences in some attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolingual and bilingual adolescents from studied areas.

Key words: bilingualism, attitudes, Slovene Istria, adolescents

IL BILINGUISMO VISTO DAGLI ADOLESCENTI MONOLINGUI E BILINGUI. ATTEGGIAMENTI DI ADOLESCENTI SLOVENI E ITALIANI

SINTESI

Nella prima parte dell'articolo vengono presentate al lettore alcune considerazioni sulla comunicazione interculturale e sul bilinguismo, seguite da un'introduzione agli atteggiamenti e da una più approfondita discussione sulle conseguenze di una più o meno soddisfacente acquisizione della prima (L1) e della seconda lingua (L2).

Nella seconda parte dell'articolo vengono presentati i risultati di una ricerca condotta su 277 studenti dell'ultima classe di alcune scuole medie (superiori) dell'Istria slovena e del Friuli Venezia Giulia (Italia). I risultati dimostrano che tra gli adolescenti monolingui e quelli bilingui appartenenti alle aree studiate vi sono alcune differenze di atteggiamento nei confronti di certi aspetti del bilinguismo.

Parole chiave: bilinguismo, atteggiamenti, Istria slovena, adolescenti

INTRODUCTION

Anyone could agree that in contemporary societies multiculturalism and multilingualism as well as biculturalism and bilingualism are common phenomena. Nowadays almost anyone living in urbanized areas has daily contacts (professional, private etc.) with people, whose mother tongue is different from his own and whose behaviour and traditions have a different background than his own. And we can say even more: thanks to the mass-media and to the long distance communication facilities (phones, mobile phones, the www etc.) even people living in strictly monocultural and monolingual areas have the opportunity to get in touch with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds on a regular basis. At this point we can start discussing two different aspects of the problem we've just introduced. On one hand we see that even by not living in a multicultural environment people get in touch with different cultures and languages, which means they "interact" with them, get an impression of them and come to form opinions and attitudes towards them and it is even more so, when interactions are held on a regular and on a face to face basis. On the other hand interacting with people from a different cultural and linguistic background means also that one has to have at least one language in common with them – let it be the language of one of the persons in interaction or a so called "lingua franca". It is obvious that in both cases the better is the knowledge of the common language of interacting persons, the higher is the quality of their communication and the least the number of language-based misunderstandings. We can therefore get to the conclusion that bilingual individuals can take advantage from bilingualism just for the simple fact they can communicate efficiently in more than one language and, thus, interact directly with a wider range of people.

At this point we must briefly leave our main topic just to make a consideration about bilingualism in general. What is bilingualism? When are we to talk about bilingualism and when, on the contrary, just about one mother tongue and a more or less good knowledge of a second, foreign language? It is important to underline that there are almost as many definitions of bilingualism as there are authors studying the phenomenon. Some among them point out that it is enough to master one language and to be able to utter a few words or phrases in a second one to be considered bilingual, while others pretend a person to have a high level mastery of both languages to let her/him be considered bilingual. The point of view of each author depends partly on her/his scientific background and partly on the object of her/his interest. Being a psychologist myself, the definition of bilingualism I start from is one that is considered to be mainly psychological (and psycholinguistic) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). According to it, a person can be considered bilingual if she/he has either:

- Started to learn both languages from birth on OR
- Started to acquire two languages in different periods of his/her early childhood with both of them having been acquired in informal situations - that is not in institutionalized settings.

After this digression, needed to point out the way we look at bilingualism, let us go back to the red thread of our introduction.

Apart from the question of a better or worse knowledge of the others' language, living, working or simply communicating with linguistically or culturally diverse people can, under particular circumstances, lead to problems not easy to be solved. In some cases this may be due to some basic cultural differences such as *religious differences* difficult (but not impossible!) to overcome, differences in *value priorities*, major *lifestyle differences* etc. But on the other hand problems in intercultural communication and interaction may also derive from a much more basic reason: ignorance. Ignorance about the others' values, way of living, way of thinking, intentions, knowledge, abilities and skills and, more generally: about their culture. It is exactly by ignoring most characteristics of a group or community that people easily become prejudiced towards it. As Reber (Reber, 1985, 566) points out, the meaning of the term "prejudice" is in fact defined as "a forming of an attitude prior to having sufficient information, a preconception" that can be, generally speaking, either positive or negative, although, related to attitudes, it has a much more specific meaning: "a negative attitude toward a particular group of persons based on negative traits assumed to be uniformly displayed by all members of that group" (Reber, 1985, 566). On the other hand Rokeach (in: Hayes, 1998, 414) defines attitudes as: "A learned orientation or disposition ...which provides a tendency to respond favorably or unfavorably to the object or situation." If we fuse the quoted definitions and apply them to interpersonal situations, we end up defining prejudice (towards a group or an individual as a member of a group) as a form of negative (unfavorably) attitude deriving from ignorance that can have a negative impact on relations between people from different groups.

Sometimes the simple fact of being categorized into a group may cause people perceive others in a distorted or, at least, less favorable way. This phenomenon is often referred to as the "in-group/out-group bias". People tend to favor their own group and to be less favorable to those from a different group. Such characteristic becomes even more evident, when reinforced by prejudice and/or negative attitudes, which is very often the case when groups of people with different linguistic and/or cultural background are talked about.

In this paper we talk about attitudes towards bilingualism, but to introduce properly our arguments, we still need to do one more digression. As we know that people can be/become bilingual for different reasons,

we have to consider that such different reasons may have an influence on the consequences people will have if they do not become bilingual at all or if they don't become bilingual up to the expected extent. Let's take for example a couple that wants a child to be bilingual for the sake of having a better education, wider horizons etc. The child enrolls in a foreign-language school, but then fails to become bilingual - parents will probably be unsatisfied and maybe angry, but his failure will probably not have any severe consequence. It is the case of the so-called "elite bilingualism", typical for members of well-off social classes. But let's take a different example: the case of a child from a linguistic minority. In the environment, where she/he lives, her/his mother tongue (first language or L1) retains the status of a minority language. In order to be able to "function" in the wider environment (spare time clubs, maybe even school, later on: employment opportunities, marriage etc.) such a child has necessarily to become bilingual, which means that he/she has necessarily to learn the language of the wider environment (second language or L2) and, thus, become bilingual (although later on he/she may switch to monolingualism in L2). If he/she fails to acquire a proper knowledge of L2, consequences may be tough to cope with. As Skutnabb-Kangas points out (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), such a child may feel unadapted not just because by not being proficient in L2 he/she may have difficulties to cope with the demands of the wider environment, but also because in many circumstances being a member of a minority means to be a member of an underprivileged and prejudiced community. For people with such a background even being bilingual may not always be considered a sign of privilege, but rather a sign of marginalisation.

If we now apply "elite" bilingualism and "non-elite" bilingualism to the case of our subjects from Slovene Istria, we can say that for subjects that do not consider themselves as part of the Italian minority, but are nonetheless bilingual (in accordance with our definition of bilingualism) and attend the Slovene language middle school, where Italian is taught as L2, bilingualism is to be considered as a sort of "elitist" bilingualism, since what for them is L2, it is not the only language that enables them to function in the wider environment. The

failure in acquiring a good knowledge of L2 does not have serious consequences in their daily life. On the other hand, when we speak about tested subjects from Slovene Istria, whose mother tongue is Italian, the acquisition of L2 (Slovene language in their case) is of crucial importance for their future, since an insufficient level of knowledge of L2 may lead to the restriction of the number social, economic and geographical environments, where they can function. This can lead to social exclusion, restricted job opportunities etc. A similar logic is applicable to subjects from Italy, whose L1 is Slovene, but since in the area where they live, one-way bilingualism is the rule, in their case the failure in acquiring Italian as L2 may lead to even more serious consequences than the ones discussed for their Italian speaking peers from Slovenia. All that may affect attitudes of adolescent subjects towards bilingualism.

PROBLEM

The aim of the study was to assess the existence of any differences in attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolingual and bilingual adolescents within and between two neighboring regions: Italian Friuli Venezia Giulia and Slovene Istria.

PARTICIPANTS

Tested subjects were 277 adolescents of both sexes, aged between 17 and 19. At the time of testing they were last-graders at 8 schools: 3 majority schools (2 in Italy: 1 in Gorizia and 1 in Trieste, and 1 in Slovenia: Slovene Istria) and 5 minority schools following the maintenance model schooling program (3 in Italy: 1 in Trieste and 2 in Gorizia, and 2 in Slovene Istria) as shown in Table A.

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

Subjects were tested by means of:

- An introductory questionnaire that permitted us to get basic demographic data about subjects AND
- A Scale of attitudes towards bilingualism.

Table A: Distribution of participants in schools.

Tabela A: Razvrstitev udeležencev raziskave po šolah.

SCHOOL	MONOLINGUAL	BILINGUAL	TOTAL	COUNTRY	TEACHING LANGUAGE
Gimnazija Koper ¹	35	82	117	Slovenia	Slovene (+It)
G. R. Carli & A. Sema ²		28	28	Slovenia	Italian (+Slo)
G. Oberdan	46		46	Italy (Trieste)	Italian
F. Prešeren		29	29	Italy (Trieste)	Slovene (+ It)
S. Gregorcic & P. Trubar ³		20	20	Italy (Gorizia)	Slovene (+ It)
Duca degli Abruzzi	37		37	Italy (Gorizia)	Italian
Total	118	159	277		

The latter has been constructed by the authoress of the present study for the needs of a major research work (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0,82$). It is a five-point Likert-type scale comprising 20 items divided among two factors of attitudes towards bilingualism: integrative (9 items) and instrumental (11 items). The content of approximately half items is expressed by means of positive sentences, while the remaining half is expressed by means of sentences that seem to reflect a negative attitude toward the object of measurement (bilingualism). When calculating scores, the scores of the latter have to be reversed in order to get the same "direction" of meaning for both groups of items.

Items that reflect integrative attitudes towards bilingualism are those, in which a tendency toward linguistic and/or national affiliation, interpersonal communication, individual development and toward others (for the sake of socialisation) can be found. On the other hand attitudes, in which instrumental functions of bilingualism are to be traced, are those that reflect a utilitarian urge for being bilingual, f.e. for the sake of getting a better job or position in society, of being more open to diversity etc.

Let us quote one example of each type of item:

"Bilinguals fear contacts with monolinguals." (negative form, integrative attitude)

"To be bilingual is to have greater opportunities of becoming successful." (positive form, instrumental attitude)

For the purpose of statistical analyses factorial scores instead of raw scores were used.

RESULTS

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

Table 1: Results of Multiple analysis of variance (from now onward MANOVA) for differences between factors of attitudes toward bilingualism with respect to the subjects' "lingualism" in Slovene Istria.

Tabela 1: Rezultati multiple analize variance (odslej test MANOVA) za razlike med faktorji stališč do dvojezičnosti glede na "jezičnost" udeležencev v Slovenski Istri.

Wilks' λ	R	df1	df2	Significance
0,8838	4,4265	4	278	,0017*

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

- 1 Although a majority school, the Gimnazija Koper is particular for being placed in an officially bilingual area, where even at "majority schools" the "second language of the environment" (Italian) is taught on a regular basis.
- 2 G. R. Carli and A. Sema are two maintenance program schools of the same typology situated not far from each other. Since the number of last-graders was very low, we decided to put pupils from both schools into one single sample group: "Carli & Sema" and to consider them as one single school.
- 3 S. Gregorcic and P. Trubar are two maintenance program schools of similar typology, both situated in the same building. Since the number of tested last-graders was very low, we decided to put pupils from both schools into one sample group: "S. Gregorcic & P. Trubar" and to consider them as one single school.

Table 2: Results of MANOVA test for differences between factors of attitudes toward bilingualism with respect to the subjects' "lingualism" in Trieste.

Tabela 2: Rezultati testa MANOVA za razlike med faktorji stališč do dvojezičnosti glede na "jezičnost" udeležencev v Trstu.

Wilks' λ	R	df1	df2	Significance
0,8405	6,737	2	71	,0021*

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

Table 3: Results of MANOVA test for differences between factors of attitudes toward bilingualism with respect to the subjects' "lingualism" in Gorizia.

Tabela 3: Rezultati testa MANOVA za razlike med faktorji stališč do dvojezičnosti glede na "jezičnost" udeležencev v Gorici.

Wilks' λ	R	df1	df2	Significance
0,7798	7,6236	2	54	,0012*

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

ONE-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE (ANOVA) AND T-TESTS

In the following tables (from 4 to 6) the number "1" in the column entitled "lingualism" stands for "monolingual/s", while the number "2" stands for "bilingual/s".

Table 4: Results of ANOVA tests for difference in attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolingual and bilingual participants from Slovene Istria, grouped by school and by "lingualism" (monolinguals from Gimnazija Koper (1GKP), bilinguals from Gimnazija Koper (2GKP) and bilinguals from P. Sema & G. R. Carli (2 S&C)).

Tabela 4: Rezultati testa ANOVA za razlike v stališčih do dvojezičnosti, ki so jih izrazili enojezični in dvojezični udeleženci raziskave iz Slovenske Istre, združeni glede na obiskovano šolo in "jezičnost" (enojezični z Gimnazije Koper (1GKP), dvojezični z Gimnazije Koper (2 GKP) in dvojezični z gimnazij A. Sema & G. R. Carli (2 S&C)).

Type of attitudes	"Lingualism" and schools	Mean	Significance
integrative	1 GKP	-0,1310	,0270*
	2 GKP	0,2775	
	2 S & C	0,3062	
instrumental	1 GKP	-0,3325	,0891+
	2 GKP	0,1582	
	2 S & C	0,0933	

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

+ tendency toward statistically significant difference between groups ($0.1 > p > 0.05$)

Table 5: T-test results for difference in attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolingual and bilingual participants from Trieste.

Tabela 5: Rezultati T-testa za razlike v stališčih do dvojezičnosti, ki so jih izrazili enojezični in dvojezični udeleženci iz Trsta.

Type of attitudes	"Lingualism"	Mean	Significance
integrative	1	-0,1752	,7042
	2	-0,2864	
instrumental	1	-0,3183	,0002**
	2	0,5265	

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

" non-homogeneous variances, corrected t-test

Table 6: T-test results for difference in attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolingual and bilingual participants from Gorizia.

Tabela 6: Rezultati T-testa za razlike v stališčih do dvojezičnosti, ki so jih izrazili enojezični in dvojezični udeleženci iz Gorice.

Type of attitudes	"Lingualism"	Mean	Significance
integrative	1	0,1494	,4807"
	2	0,3429	
instrumental	1	-0,1715	,0002*
	2	0,6413	

* statistically significant difference between groups ($p < 0.05$)

" non-homogeneous variances, corrected t-test

DISCUSSION

Multivariate analyses of variance show there are statistically significant differences between attitudes towards bilingualism when subjects are grouped according to their "lingualism" (mono- or bi-lingualism respectively) in all observed environments. That means that in all observed areas (Slovene Istria and Italian cities of Gorizia and Trieste) attitudes towards bilingualism held by monolinguals and those held by bilinguals differ significantly from each other, thus meaning that for what concerns attitudes towards bilingualism being monolingual or being bilingual makes the difference.

Such a result is not unexpected, if we consider that measured attitudes towards bilingualism have to do with the perceived *interpersonal* benefits/damage (integrative attitudes) and with the perceived "pragmatic" or, better, *material* benefits/damage (instrumental attitudes) one can derive from being bilingual. Obviously the perception of mentioned benefits depends on the point of view or, better, on social representations of the observer as member of a group and on his perception of his own needs and of the needs of her/his group as opposed to the needs of other groups. As in this case we are dealing with monolingual and bilingual groups of adolescents, where monolingual adolescents are members of a national/cultural majority, while bilingual adolescents are mostly members of a national/cultural minority, we can expect to find different social representations underlying the adolescents' attitudes towards bilingualism. If we consider the relatedness of social representations and prejudice and, again, the relatedness of the latter and attitudes towards bilingualism, we see that the seemingly simple results of our research reflect, in fact, a rather complicated pattern of intergroup relations.

But let's have a look at the remaining 3 tables. Here we see more details that can help us understand where differences come from. The first thing we can notice, starting from an overview of all 3 tables, is that results found in Slovene Istria basically differ from those found in Italy (Trieste and Gorizia). In Slovene Istria, where the sample group is divided into three groups: monolinguals from the Gimnazija Koper (1GKP), bilinguals from the same school (2GKP) and bilinguals from the maintenance program school (2 S & C), we've found a statistically significant difference between integrative attitudes of adolescents with a different linguistic background, while there were no differences between their instrumental attitudes. On the other hand results from Trieste and Gorizia indicate a situation that is exactly opposite to the one just described (no differences on integrative attitudes, but existence of differences on instrumental attitudes). How can we explain these findings? The area of Slovene Istria is officially recognized (by the Slovene government) as a "two-way" bilingual area (an area with two "languages of the environment"), which means that

learning both languages (Italian and Slovene) is compulsory for school children of any national and linguistic background. So the latter (or, actually, their parents) can choose to attend a majority school, where Slovene is the language of teaching and Italian the "second language of the environment" (L2 in a sort of "elitist" way), or they can choose to attend a maintenance-program minority school (and they can do so even if they are not members of the minority community), where the teaching language is Italian, while Slovene is considered as the "second language of the environment". In neighbouring Italy, the situation is different. Italian schools from Trieste and Gorizia offer L1 and L2 only to pupils attending Slovene middle schools, while in schools, where Italian is the medium of teaching, L2 is not offered.

From table 4 we see that the group from Slovene Istria that has the least positive attitude toward integrative functions of bilingualism is the group of monolingual adolescents (from the Slovene language medium school), while results of bilingual adolescents either from the same school or from the minority school show just a slight difference. It seems that the fact that many monolinguals find it difficult to have to learn two languages (their own mother tongue and the so called "second language of the environment") plus a foreign language, is reflected in a low mean on integrative attitudes towards bilingualism. On the other hand they even don't see any reason for learning Italian – just for the sake of communicating with peers (interpersonal function of bilingualism), since all their peers with Italian national and/or linguistic background (belonging to the Italian minority) can speak Slovene.

It is interesting that the way bilinguals perceive the situation is different - they already *are* bilingual and they seem to highly appreciate the integrative functions of bilingualism. Results seem to indicate that both groups (monolinguals on one side and bilinguals on the other one) are rather dependent on "in-group" - "out-group" judgments and they both tend to linguistically "stay where they are". According to Gardner and Lambert (1959; in: Baker, 1992) it may mean that bilinguals from Slovene Istria will preserve their bilingualism, while monolinguals from the same environment will never properly learn Italian. Higher scores on integrative attitudes reflect namely a tendency to affiliate with the group of bilinguals, while low scores reflect the absence of it. On the other hand we can also say that although in Slovene Istria both languages (Slovenian and Italian) have the same officially recognized status, some prejudice against bilingualism may still be present among monolingual adolescents which, by denying any positive consequences of the integrative (but instrumental, too) functions of bilingualism (negative attitudes of the integrative type may also mean that subjects think bilingualism has a negative impact on personal development), show a certain tendency to remain prejudiced

towards bilingualism and its effects, which is reflected by their search for coherence with their own unwillingness to become bilingual.

Let us have a look at tables 5 and 6. Here we can see that in both Italian cities (Trieste and Gorizia) we find a similar situation for what concerns both types of attitudes towards bilingualism. Integrative attitudes do not reflect any significant difference between monolingual and bilingual adolescents, while in the case of instrumental attitudes differences are found.

So we can say that the situation in Slovene Istria is different from the one in neighboring Italy, where bilingualism is not officially recognized (or, actually, it has become recognized lately, but the law is not effective yet). That means that (in Italy) members of the Slovene minority have to be bilingual (one-way bilingualism) in order to be able to function in their daily life beyond the boundaries of their community, while most members of the Italian majority are monolingual. Slovenes in Italy have to be bilingual, if they want to get more opportunities in life: a better job, a better social position, more social power, in order to be more open towards people from other cultures etc. On the other hand their Italian majority peers (monolinguals) don't feel the need to learn Slovene and to be bilingual themselves. It is obvious they don't need Slovene language for the same purpose as Slovene adolescents do, but they still could appreciate the instrumental function of bilingualism from the point of view of personal and societal openness – if only being bilingual would be considered as socially desirable and thus as an indicator of a better social position. Why isn't it so? The answer is mainly due to prejudice. Monolingual adolescents from Italy have "inherited" this prejudice against the Slovene minority from their parents and relatives who experienced the period of Fascism, and from historically distorted post-WWII events, from slogans of nationalist political parties that were, and still are very active in this nationally mixed part of Italy, and who still believe in some slogans and negative the consequences of being Slovene. Considering the fact that at a certain point of the past three decades economic circumstances in Trieste and Gorizia started to get worse (and they partly still are), there was a need to find a scapegoat. Such a scapegoat has been found in the Slovenian minority and in the supposed consequences of bilingualism. So we can say that in Trieste and Gorizia the background of the monolingual adolescents' negative attitudes towards bilingualism stems mostly from the assimilation of those aspects of "social knowledge" that considers bilingualism as the reason for unfavourable economic circumstances.

Let us consider the integrative function of bilingualism in Italy, too! In both samples (from Trieste and from Gorizia) results have shown no significant difference between monolinguals and bilinguals, although some differences do exist: bilinguals from Trieste value

integrative functions of bilingualism even more unfavorably than monolinguals do, while in Gorizia the situation is reversed. These tendencies reflect the development of a much higher degree of prejudice in Trieste than in Gorizia, which can be explained in the following way: while on one hand after WWII inhabitants of Trieste became less open to external influences and in a certain sense even phobic of losing their identity if getting in too close a relation with other cultures, as for example with the Slovene culture, Gorizia is a town that after being halved by Italy and former Yugoslavia (after WWII) still remained more open-minded toward the "others", and more willing to get in touch with others (including its "cross-border" inhabitants) than Trieste. So we can say that although there aren't significant differences in integrative attitudes among monolinguals and bilinguals in each of the considered towns, differences on this factor emerge between the two towns. Adolescents from Trieste are basically unfavourable to integrative functions of bilingualism, while their peers from Gorizia are basically favourable to integrative functions of bilingualism.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude we can say that generally bilinguals' attitudes towards bilingualism are more positive than the monolinguals'. Such result can be explained from the standpoint of the social identity theory (in-groups versus out-groups) and from the point of view of the utility of bilingualism - especially for members of the minority group - where bilingualism is unilateral (one-way bilingualism) as it is in the considered Italian towns. An exception is represented by integrative attitudes held by bilinguals from Trieste (more negative than those held by monolinguals from the same town), where a more

profound investigation should show, if, while responding, bilingual subjects from Trieste were keeping in mind the fact that their Italian peers were anyway monolingual and thus, "integratively" speaking, there was no use of being bilingual for the sake of communicating with them.

On the other hand, when comparing results from Slovenia to those from Italy, we see that although in Slovene Istria results for instrumental attitudes do not show statistically significant differences between compared groups, they are still similar in that monolinguals' attitudes are negative, while bilinguals' are positive. From this standpoint we can say that there is a similarity between tendencies in both countries, thus meaning that the officially recognized bilingualism in Slovene Istria doesn't have a decisive impact on instrumental attitudes of adolescents and that to be bilingual doesn't really represent an "instrumental advantage" for bilinguals or, at least, is not experienced by them as such. On the other hand results for integrative attitudes differ from area to area. Monolinguals from Trieste and Slovene Istria hold negative attitudes toward integrative functions of bilingualism, while integrative attitudes of their monolingual peers from Gorizia are positive (although less positive than the bilinguals' ones). And again - integrative attitudes of bilinguals are positive in Slovene Istria as they are in Gorizia, while they aren't in Trieste - as already discussed above.

How can the situation be changed in order to promote different aspects of bilingualism in all studied areas? A creation of more jobs requiring the knowledge of both languages should overall lead to more positive instrumental attitudes towards bilingualism among monolinguals, while a more "people oriented" promotion of bilingualism is to be done for the sake of promoting integrative benefits of bilingualism.

DVOJEZIČNOST IZ ZORNEGA KOTA ENOJEZIČNIH IN DVOJEZIČNIH MLADOSTNIKOV. STALIŠČA MLADOSTNIKOV IZ SLOVENIJE IN ITALIJE

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POVZETEK

V sodobnih družbah sta večkulturnost in večjezičnost splošna pojava. Skoraj vsak, ki živi v urbanem okolju, ima v sodobnem svetu izkušnje z drugimi jeziki, dvojezičnostjo in ljudmi, katerih kulturno ozadje je drugačno od njemu lastnega.

S pričujočo raziskavo smo želeli ugotoviti, ali se med seboj razlikujejo stališča do dvojezičnosti, ki jih gojijo enojezični in dvojezični mladostniki iz dveh sosednjih območij.

V raziskavi je sodelovalo 277 študentov zadnjih letnikov srednjih šol iz Slovenske Istre ter iz sosednje Italije. Sodelujoči so bili izbrani glede na upoštevane neodvisne spremenljivke: eno- oziroma dvojezičnost na eni ter slovensko oziroma italijansko okolje na drugi strani, medtem ko je veljalo obiskovanje srednje šole istega tipa (gimnazija) za kontrolno spremenljivko. Vsi sodelujoči so odgovarjali na uvodni vprašalnik ter podali svoja stališča na Lestvici stališč do dvojezičnosti.

Rezultati statistične obdelave podatkov kažejo, da obstajajo določene statistično pomembne razlike v stališčih do dvojezičnosti. Če med seboj primerjamo integrativna stališča, vidimo, da obstajajo razlike med enojezičnimi in dvojezičnimi mladostniki le na Slovenski Obali, medtem ko razlike med instrumentalnimi stališči obstajajo pri vseh preučevanih vzorcih. Statistična analiza je bila izvedena za vsak tip stališč (tako za integrativna kot za instrumentalna), rezultati pa so pokazali, da obstaja povezanost med "-jezičnostjo" in instrumentalnimi stališči v Italiji ter med "-jezičnostjo" in integrativnimi stališči v Sloveniji.

Ključne besede: dvojezičnost, stališča, Slovenska Istra, mladostniki

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SLOVENIA – A EUROPEAN CONTACT AND BORDER AREA

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ABSTRACT

The contribution aims to illustrate the basic research interests of the author in consideration of the convergence/divergence processes that could be detected and studied in European contact areas and societies. A theoretical-methodological introduction is followed by a longer case-study, presenting the fundamental factors and elements which make Slovenia not only one of the most typical European border regions, but also a peculiar area of natural, cultural and social contacts in a local, regional and wider geographical context. These elements have deeply influenced the development of colonization processes, the transformation of the social and ethnic structure in the country and the formation of internal and cross-border social links of its population.

Key words: political geography, contact areas, Slovenia, minorities, political borders, cross-border contacts

LA SLOVENIA – UNA ZONA DI CONFINE E DI CONTATTO EUROPEO

SINTESI

L'articolo ha lo scopo di illustrare gli interessi di ricerca dell'autore in merito ai processi di convergenza/divergenza che si possono individuare ed analizzare nelle aree e società di contatto europeo. Ad una introduzione metodologico-teorica fa seguito un ampio caso specifico d'analisi, il quale mostra i fattori e gli elementi fondamentali che fanno della Slovenia non solo una delle più rappresentative regioni di confine europeo, ma anche un'area peculiare quanto a contatti naturali, culturali e sociali in un contesto locale, regionale e geograficamente anche più ampio. Questi elementi hanno profondamente influenzato lo sviluppo dei processi di colonizzazione, la trasformazione della struttura sociale ed etnica del paese e la formazione di legami sociali della popolazione, sia interni che oltre confine.

Parole chiave: geografia politica, aree di contatto, Slovenia, minoranze, confini politici, contatti transconfinari

I.

The author of this contribution has been particularly involved in the development of various aspects related to social geographical and political geographical investigations of ethnic and border issues in Slovenia, socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects of cross-border cooperation in the Upper Adriatic, and problems of geopolitical transformation in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

On the local and regional level, he began to investigate these problems by means of the sociogeographical concepts. With analysing the structural and functional aspects of minorities in the process of modernization, and forming the models of ethnic and regional development of the ethnically mixed border areas, the questions were also studied in detail and published in numerous publications, about the inclusion of these communities into the transborder flows, the maintenance of their identity in the changed social and spatial conditions, as well as the fostering of multilingual practice and interethnic relations. He divided the process of ethno-regional development in contact areas into three different phases.

- The first phase is characterized by the stability of the ethnic and social structures, and lasts from the rise of modern territorial states to the beginning of industrialization. No particular interactions between centres and periphery are apparent and so this phase can be defined as a period of static coexistence between an immobile, ethnically clearly distinct agrarian countryside and nearby self-sufficient, ethnically mixed urban centres with a pre-industrial economy.
- The next phase is characterized by the rapid development of the industrialization process in the regional centres and growing trade between these centres and their hinterlands. The urban centres only have an indirect or fairly uneven impact on the rural space, triggering a wave of emigration among the agrarian population, but having little effect on the ethnic structure of the countryside, despite the fact that the standardization of state institutions, such as schools and public administration, also penetrates from the centres into the rural areas. The emigration of nationally quite aware ethnic Slovenes from their native territory to the nearby industrial areas and centres of employment, on the other hand, objectively increased the spatial extent of the Slovene ethnic range of action.
- The third and last phase is characterized above all by the strong growth in tertiary activities, a process which also spread centrifugally from the centres outwards. The difference is that ties between the urban centres and their hinterlands are now growing stronger and acquiring a reciprocal character. The effects of social innovations related to tertiarization

and the increasing spatial and social mobility of the population are particularly evident in the phenomenon of daily migration. As a result, the difference in the degree of socio-economic development between urban centres and their now essentially peri-urban environments is rapidly diminishing and a common urban way of life predominates. There is a growing tendency for the urban population to settle in the countryside and so ethnically mixed areas are also forming within the formerly "pure" Slovene ethnic territory. Nevertheless, the local minority population still maintains or even strengthens its regional function, particularly in those cases in which the growth of its economic base takes place at the same time as the growth of its social and political role.

This approach contributed to develop an original research methodology for investigating the functions of local communities and minorities in the border areas, as well as the cultural aspects of transborder connectedness. The methodology deriving from the cultural aspects of the study of the qualities of border regions opens up new dimensions, as researches are no longer concerned merely with a strategic political line or intermediate transactional zone in the pure economic or functional sense, but rather with something more. Nor are these investigations concerned just with the development possibilities of national minorities along borders. In discussing the cultural elements of integration and transformation of border regions, in general it is necessary to speak of the increased role of local or regional communities in the regional development of the territory of residence. This role is performed by these communities best of all when the educational structure is highly improved and they develop into conscious 'directors' of the space of their traditional habitation. Cultural and educational factors in the present post-industrial phase of social development thus become increasingly decisive for the entire regional development of a given region. At the same time the role of the cultural landscape in the spatial identification of a local community also comes to the fore, in the sense of so-called ethno-development with the simultaneous active integration of these communities in regional, national and international life.

With respect to this, the study of border and contact regions undoubtedly brings additional aspects to bear on the standard theory of the centre-periphery relation, while opening up a range of new problems which are becoming increasingly more topical in today's world, as we try to enhance mutual understanding in the culturally rich and diverse European space. The geography of borderlands in its social, cultural and political aspects is thus assuming an important role in the process of 'humanization' of the traditional geographical approach to borders and border conflict resolution. More importance than in the past is given to the study of a great variety of

micro-transactions in the field, supported by the border population while seeking to satisfy its daily needs concerning some basic functional categories, i.e. supply, work, free time or even education. But they are also the result of the activity of the border population in maintaining the traditional cultural links which are very often rooted in the relatively stable period preceding the appearance of the current political boundary. The stability of these cultural links contrasts sharply with the lability of the political partition. Paradoxically, we can notice that the greater the problems in the political partition of a homogeneous administrative, cultural and economic region, the greater is the probability for such a politically divided region to develop into an integrated "border region".

There are very few comparative studies which could help to reveal and define the basic processes taking place in border regions. The more researchers have delved into an analysis of these regions, the more complex has become the network of factors, effects and processes which characterise the structure and development dynamics of border areas. These are not just a result of the combined effect of various factors and elements in the cultural, social, economic and political fields at the bilateral level, but they also reflect the relationship between the local community and the corresponding centres as well as the relationship between the two local border communities themselves. As far as research practice relating to European border regions and cross-border relations is concerned, in contemporary human geography three often parallel but also complementary research areas have emerged:

- a critical assessment of the sources and bibliography of the development of the "border phenomenon" in the area under research, and an investigation of the relationship between the political borders and the administrative, ethno-cultural and other physical demarcation lines, along with research into the consequences of any boundary changes within the framework of the economic, social and cultural structure of the border region and the cross-border relations between the two sides;
- a regional analysis of selected socio-economic and spatial elements and their changing and how that affects attitudes towards the existing political border, and an assessment of the level of integration or structural differentiation of the territorial parts on each side of the border which constitute a former, current or planned cross-border region;
- an analysis of local cross-border relations, their intensity, structure and physical extent and of the evaluation of their own border position by each of the border populations, and an assessment of the level of social and cultural integration achieved within the border area.

The research fields outlined above are making a sig-

nificant contribution to the availability of more comprehensive information on the various long-term behavioural and situational elements dictating the development of border regions and on the current position of the areas in question; additionally, they offer two further research and applied possibilities. The first, more academic in nature, enables a comparative analysis of different border areas to be made and the specific features of individual border realities to be established within a more general theoretical framework. The second opens the way to formulating various plan-based proposals or scenarios with a view to consolidating functional cross-border relations and facilitating more integrated development (Bufon, 2001a).

The study of border areas and cross-border relations therefore leads us to deal with a complex of quite different although mutually connected problems and aspects, and also with their changing over time and in different places. Although the process of gradual European integration has partly eliminated the traditional role of "barriers" between societies that political borders played in the 19th century, and in this century too, it has in no way meant that the study of border areas and cross-border relations has lost its significance; rather, it is precisely in this period that it has acquired an even more important function in the ascertaining of factors that encourage or hinder social, economic and cultural integration, in the formulation of integrated plans for regional development and in the expanding of the new European culture, which promotes coexistence and mutual communication while respecting diversity (Bufon, 2001b).

II.

This contribution aims to illustrate the fundamental factors and elements which make Slovenia one of the most typical European border regions, but also a peculiar area of natural, cultural and social contacts in a local, regional and wider geographical context. These elements have deeply influenced the development of colonization processes, the transformation of the social structure in the country and the formation of internal and cross-border social links of its population.

Slovenia: a natural, cultural, and social "contact" area

We must first consider that the context of "contact" area creates some difficulties in the allocation of Slovene territory to standardized categories. From the point of view of *physical geography*, in Slovenia four European macroregions meet: the Alps, the Pannonian plain, the Dinaric-Karst mountains and the Adriatic-Mediterranean coast. Although the Alps are perceived to be particularly significant for Slovenes (Triglav is the national symbol of the country), the Alpine landscape, which are located in the north-west border area with It-

aly and Austria, make up only 15% of the entire Slovenian territory. Actually, the most typical Slovenian landscape consists of subalpine orography up to 1600 meters above sea level, which includes the Ljubljana basin and nearly the whole central part of the country. Thus only in a wider sense, considering both alpine and subalpine areas, the Alpine region represents more than 40% of the Slovenian territory and nearly half of its population. Similarly, both Pannonian and Mediterranean belts cover, in the strictest sense, two very small areas at the two extremes of the country: the north-eastern, and the south-western, respectively. However, the Pannonian and sub-Pannonian Slovenia are treated together, thus consisting of 21% of the total territory, and more than 30% of the total population of the country. This region includes Maribor and the entire eastern borderland with Croatia and Hungary. On the other hand, the Mediterranean belt is usually associated with the sub-Mediterranean part of the country, making up 9% of both the total territory and population, and including the Karst, the Vipava valley and the Brda region. This area represents the southern part of the Italo-Slovene borderland and the Croato-Slovene borderland in Istria. What remains is the least densely inhabited Dinaric-Karst high plateau, which goes from the Soča river to the Kolpa river and covers a great part of southern Slovenia and the central Slovenian-Croatian border area (28% of the territory and 16% of the total population in Slovenia, respectively).

The meeting-points between natural regions are thus characterized by a mixing of the properties of each, emphasizing the transitional character of Slovenia. For this reason, apart from the four above mentioned natural macro-regions, Slovene physical geographers (Gams, 1992; Perko, 1997) have identified 9 different sub-macro-regions and as many as 50 mezo-regions in the country. Both geographical configuration of Slovenia – where the mountainous landscape prevails, and plain areas, where an eventual concentration of population and economic activities could have taken place, covers only one sixth of the country – and a lack of natural resources, have resulted in a lower density of population and the relatively peripheral status of the area. In consequence the territory of present-day Slovenia has remained largely "uninteresting" for the neighbouring population giving the Slovenians the opportunity of surviving in spite of living next to politically and numerically stronger communities. Secondly, the internal variety and diversity influenced the social and cultural differentiation of the Slovenian population and the political and institutional organisation of the territory during the Austrian period, where the development of church organisation, the feudal fragmentation and the long-term links to different provinces and countries must be considered. This is clearly reflected in the existence of almost 20 dialects within which as many as 50 main

variations have been identified. This suggests that the Slovenian language, in terms of dialects, is one of the richest in Europe (Repolusk, 1998).

Just as it is impossible to define clear borders between the individual regions, so too, the borders between *dialect areas* are rather blurred, containing several transitional versions between each dialect group. Another important element which has influenced the existence of dialects, is the different speed and intensity of social modernisation in Slovenia. Only in the last two decades this process, associated with deagrarianization and mobility, has widespread. Because physical phenomena, such as mountains and rivers, have represented in the past a sort of barrier to social and cultural standardization, there is an interesting combination of natural, cultural, and social borders within Slovenia, as well as between the Slovenian ethnic area and the neighbouring areas. At this regard, the ethno-linguistic differentiation is also intertwined with processes of ethno-regional development. From the 13th century onward, four stable Habsburg territorial regions were gradually established in the area: Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and then the Gorizia region. This long-term institutional division, on one hand, slowed down the process of Slovene national emancipation, which originated in the territory of Carniola/Kranjska and spread to the other regions of the Austrian empire, where Slovenians lived, only after the mid 19th century. On the other hand, it contributed, together with the combination of natural and dialect divisions, to the creation of the so called "classical" Slovenian regions (from west to east: Primorska, Notranjska, Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Bela krajina, Štajerska, Koroška, and Prekmurje). These regions have never had institutional validity, but, in spite of this, they have always been present in the Slovenian everyday discourse and they are still included in tourist guides.

The relative peripheral condition that characterized Slovenia does not imply that Slovenia had not felt external influences. These can be seen, in fact, even in the development of different dialects and were, after all, the natural consequence of the fact, that the whole Slovenian territory, at different times and to different extent, was incorporated into different neighbouring social and political entities. Romance influences are more visible in western Slovenia, which includes Primorska and Notranjska regions; Germanic influences are more felt in northern Slovenia (Gorenjska and northern Štajerska); Hungarian influences can be detected in Prekmurje, whereas Croatian influences are present in Bela krajina and along the whole Slovenian-Croatian border area. We could say that, just as four European macro-regions meet on the Slovenian territory in the natural sphere, so the four more representative European *language groups* meet on the Slovenian territory in the cultural sphere: Slavic, Germanic, Romance, and Hungaro-Finnish. From this point of view Slovenia is, together with Aus-

tria, the only European country representing the contact area of all these language groups. But only in Slovenia these four linguistic groups coexist within one state. This used to be even more true in the past, when the Slovenian territory was part of the multiethnic Austrian monarchy, especially in the urban centres. According to the Austrian census of 1910 the Slovenian component on the territory of present-day Slovenia reached more than 80% of the total population. The other 20% was more or less equally divided between German and other ethnic groups, among which the greatest proportion were Italian and Hungarian. The Germans, as the dominant group in Austria, lived especially in some towns, such as Celje and Ptuj, where they represented between 40 and 45% of the whole population, and as much as 55% in Maribor, whereas in Ljubljana this community represented only 10% of the whole population. Germans represented then also an autochthonous territorial ethnic group in the area of Kočevje, in the southern part of Slovenia, where, in 1910, 17 thousand out of the 105 thousand Germans in present-day Slovenia lived (Klemenčič, 1988). In the area of present Slovenian Istria, in the municipalities of Koper, Izola, and Piran, in 1910, nearly 30 thousand Italians lived, representing 75% to 80% of the local population, whilst about 15 thousand Hungarians lived in the area between the river Mura and the present Slovenian-Hungarian border. Because the neighbouring ethno-linguistic communities, particularly the German, but also the Italian and the Hungarian, were quite powerful and dominant both at the local and regional level, the Slovenian population was subject to constant assimilation. This was even more evident on the "border" of the Slovenian ethnic territory outside present-day Slovenia, where Slovenian minorities are still present. According to Slovenian estimations there are currently more than 80 thousand Slovenes in Italy, more than 40 thousand in Austria, and about 5 thousand in Hungary (Zupančič, 1998), whilst 1910 censuses showed for the same areas quite different figures: about 130 thousand Slovenes in present-day Italy, 65 thousand in present-day Austria (but Slovenian estimations for that period was about 100 thousand), and about 10 thousand in present-day Hungary.

This process of "normalisation", or standardisation of the population structure within state systems, and the consequential assimilation of minority groups into the dominant nation, was, as in other parts of Europe, most evident in the first half of the 20th century, when a number of intense political-geographic changes, which will be discussed in more details later, took place. At this point it is important to notice that a certain kind of "normalisation" took place in the Upper Adriatic area, after the First World War and particularly after the Second World War (Bufon, 1997a; 1999a). It was also the case in the rest of Slovenia (Gosar, 1993a), due to the emigration of German-speaking state employees, after

the First World War, and of a larger number of those associated with the invading forces during the Second World War. The size of the German, Italian, and Hungarian communities decreased drastically. By 1921, the German community had been halved, and barely existed after the Second World War (the census of 1991 shows only 750 Germans living in Slovenia). Similarly, the Italian community decreased most in the first decades after the Second World War: from 1961 onwards it stabilized at about 3000 persons. Only the Hungarian community went through a less severe reduction. According to the 1991 census, there are about 8500 Hungarians in Prekmurje.

Regardless of the different "atmospheres" and causes that led to a change of the ethnic structure in Slovenia after the First and the Second World Wars, a certain social and geopolitical "reorientation" of the Slovenian territory southwards may be detected, since it became first part of the Kingdom and later of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. However this "reorientation" did not have immediate consequences for the ethnic structure of Slovenia, which continued to remain almost "pure" until 1971, considering that about 95% of the population was Slovenian. Only after this year the population structure changed due to the intense immigration of labour from other Yugoslav republics. Thus the percentage of Slovenes was 90% in 1981 and less than 88% in 1991. The number of *immigrant communities*, which have only partly assimilated into the dominant community since the independence of Slovenia, still outnumber the autochthonous minorities (the latter are only 1% of the whole population of Slovenia), and are mainly present in the industrial centres such as Jesenice, Koper, Celje, Ljubljana, and Maribor, where, according to the 1991 census, they represented between 15% and 30%, and in Jesenice more than 35% of the population. Here, a certain territorialization of the immigrant communities is noticeable: the Croats (nearly 3% of the whole Slovenian population) are more present in the north-east and south-east of the country, whilst the Serbs (about 2,5% of the whole Slovenian population) live mostly in Ljubljana and western Slovenia. Mixed marriages are more typical between Slovenians and Croats in the border area, and therefore also the integration of the Croatian ethnic group into the Slovenian social context is the highest. In Slovenian Istria the immigrants from inner Slovenia or Yugoslavia have had an additional "revitalising" function. They have almost completely replaced the once dominant Italian population, which moved to Italy after World War II for economic and political reasons, and provided the demographic potential necessary for a quick economic growth of the area (Medica, 1987). Generally speaking, in a country where there has not been a demographic increase, only a positive migration balance can account for the demographic growth. Thus, similar to the situa-

tion in many European states, the extent of immigration to Slovenia from other Yugoslav republics, making Slovenia a sort of "Yugoslav Switzerland", has played an important role in the industrialisation of the country. In consequence Slovenia is, in fact, the only transitional state in central-eastern Europe to have experienced such a strong immigration flux equivalent only to that of Switzerland: in both countries the percentage of economic migrants exceed 10% of the whole population.

On the other hand, many Slovenes have *emigrated* from their homeland, in the past, because of the peripheral status of this area. This occurred especially from the second half of the 19th century onwards. After serfdom in Austria had been abolished, finally the modernisation of the administrative and social structure could begin. This emigration flux was directed towards Trieste, which developed very quickly between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and thus represented, for the inhabitants of Kranjska and the eastern Adriatic coast, a kind of little "America". Moreover, even to reach America-proper people from southern and north-eastern Slovenia passed through the port of Trieste. It is interesting to note that at the beginning of this century the town with the biggest Slovenian population was Trieste, followed by Ljubljana and Cleveland in the USA. That said it is obvious that the urbanisation of the Slovenian population occurred mainly outside the present Slovenian territory, and it was rather more centrifugally than centripetally oriented. The emigration continued even after the First World War, when a major part of the Slovenian ethnic territory became a constituent entity of the Yugoslav kingdom, this time towards South America and Canada. There were not only economic, but also political migrants from western Slovenia, who had been ruled by an increasingly fascist Italy; the latter group was mainly directed towards Yugoslavia. Similarly, after the Second World War, both economic and political conditions persisted as reasons for emigration. On the one hand, there was an economic migration from Trieste and western Slovenia to Australia, and from central Slovenia to western Europe. On the other hand, there was a political migration of anti-communist and quislings, including the "domobranci", but also liberal intellectuals, who emigrated partly to Trieste and other European countries, and mainly to Argentina.

Today, the largest number of Slovenian emigrants is believed to live in the USA, where about 300 thousand persons of Slovene origin live. Besides, there are about 30 thousand persons of Slovene origin in Canada, about 25 thousand in Australia, 50 thousand in Germany, and about 30 thousand in Argentina (Genorio, 1993). Among all these, the community which has maintained the strongest link with its origins, is the "young", mainly political, community in Argentina, which has strong Catholic support and organisation. This community has expressed greater interest in obtaining Slovenian citizen-

ship once Slovenia got independence. Therefore, the Slovenians in Argentina made most use of the right to vote in the last political elections and even sent their representative to the Slovenian parliament. Since the independence of Slovenia, the Slovenians who had previously emigrated to other Yugoslav republics have found themselves in a totally new situation too; the majority of these emigrants can be found in Croatia (about 25 thousand) and in Serbia (about 10 thousand), especially in the big cities.

To the usual migrants, people who temporally work outside their country should be added. This category is, however, much more mobile and is therefore difficult to assess numerically. According to the 1991 census more than 50 thousand people, or 3% of the whole Slovenian population, have been working and living temporally in foreign countries, nearly half of them in Germany, the rest in Austria, Switzerland, and Italy. They are predominantly from the less developed parts of the country: Pomurje, Posavje, and Bela Krajina. Due to the vicinity of the employment centres in Italy and Austria, the labour force commuting from the border areas is, however, numerically larger than the census shows. This phenomenon, in fact, is so significant that it can influence the life of as much as up to one third of the families living in the border area, as we will see later. In these areas, especially in the Slovenian-Italian borderland, the local emigration of women from east to west is rather strong and it is often connected with marriage. This helps to improve the relationships between the inhabitants on the two sides of the border (Bufon, 1995a).

Religion is another element that proves Slovenia to be a social and cultural "contact" area. Although nearly all believing Slovenians (more than 75%) consider themselves Catholic, the Protestant religion has played a very important role in the development of Slovenian culture. Protestantism developed in Slovenia during the 16th century and created the basis of the first Slovenian books. It therefore played an important role in the standardisation of the language and the cultural unification of the Slovenian population. Today, Evangelism predominates only in northern Prekmurje with about 15 thousand believers, whilst the number of Orthodox (about 45 thousand) and Muslims (about 30 thousand), has recently increased due to immigration.

In this way, Slovenia has come closer to those basic border lines defined by Galtung for Europe. These are borders between geopolitical areas, that he called The United States of America and Europe (USAE), the Russian Union (RU), and the Turkish Union (TU) (Galtung, 1994). The above areas represent on one hand the global division between North and South, which was first set between the Catholics and Moslems during the crusades from 1095, on the other hand the division between West and East, based on the border between the Orthodox and Roman catholic churches which occurred

in 1054. Within the western part of the world, or the USAE, an internal border also appeared between the Catholics and the Protestant since 1517. Anyway, in the past many cultural and religious interferences occurred on this geopolitical units in Slovenia. Besides the pre-mentioned consequences of Protestantism and counter-reformation, there were many Turkish incursions throughout the 16th and 17th century and, as a consequence, the "Vojna krajina" was formed in the direct vicinity of the Slovenian ethnic territory. Moreover, between the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the pan-Slavic, and therefore pro-Russian and pro-Serbian, feelings in Slovenia were a means for the national emancipation of the country and its geopolitical orientation towards "East" and "South". The geopolitical division of Europe after the Second World War then directly influenced the setting of new political borders on the territory of Slovenia, and of that special entity, represented by Tito's Yugoslavia, which in some way represented the most effective realization of the "fifty-fifty" geopolitical division principle of Europe, foretold by Churchill. This, however, was not only a political entity oriented partly eastwards, partly westwards; it was also oriented northwards and southwards.

Slovenia is nowadays still "on the edge" or in the contact area of many *geopolitical and interest spheres*. This can be seen in its new political and social reorientation towards north and west. Therefore, its communication with Vienna and Brussels is as frequent as it used to be with Zagreb and Belgrade before the independence. The traffic role of Slovenia has changed as well: in the past the prevalent direction within the Slovenian traffic "cross" used to be NW–SE; nowadays, also due to the Yugoslav conflict, the direction SW–NE on the new European line Barcelona-Milan-Ljubljana-Budapest-Kiev is much more important. Although Slovenia has an important strategic and traffic and gate-way position (Černe, 1992; Klemenčič, Genorio, 1993; Pak, 1993), it is still somehow on "the edge" of the developing fluxes, being Ljubljana 300 to 500 km away from the nearest European metropolis. This condition of geopolitical contact area, traffic transitoriness and marginality brings a number of paradoxes. The largest number of Slovenian economic exchanges are made with EU countries, and Slovenia is one of the major candidates for membership of the EU. However, from a recent survey, is clear that only a few EU citizens know Slovenia well enough to support its application for a membership of the EU. Moreover, some Slovenian businessmen are convinced that it would be better if Slovenia maintained its status of "developed among underdeveloped" in the ex-Yugoslav context, rather than experiencing the unknown as the "underdeveloped among developed" in a EU context. Last, but not least, the relationship between the European political-economic integration plans and the

American political-strategic interests for the "control" of the Balkan as a contact point between USAE on one side and RU and TU on the other one has to be considered. During his visit to Slovenia, Clinton confirmed that Slovenia's claim to enter Nato has been blocked until a new role for Slovenia within the democratisation process of the former Yugoslavia has been defined.

Slovenia reacted, however, rather soon to such geostrategic challenges, forming interregional links such as the work group Alpe-Adria, formally constituted in 1978 but based on previously existing co-operation between the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, the Italian region Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and the Austrian land Carinthia. Even if the political work performed by this interregional community, which aims to link areas with rather different social and economic systems, has been taken over since the events in 1989-1991 by the Central-European Initiative, the will of strengthening the existing links and of further co-operation is still deeply rooted in the "hard core" of this community. These local or regional aspects of the border position of Slovenia will be discussed further on.

Shaping Slovenian political borders

As Slovenia is located in an area where different geopolitical interests meet, external factors have played a rather determinant role in tracing and transforming former Yugoslav borders within the Slovenian territory. This is also due to the fact that the present borders between Slovenia and Italy, and Slovenia and Austria have changed considerably in this century. The tracing of borders has therefore caused many controversies, but also put the basis for bilateral agreements and co-operation policies.

a) The Italo-Slovene border

Although the present Slovenian-Italian border, 232 km long, was accepted at the Peace conferences in 1947, then slightly modified after the elimination of the Free Territory of Trieste in 1954, and definitely accepted with smaller corrections during Osimo agreements in 1975, the greater part of this border-line follows the historical border between Austria and the Republic of Venice, established by both countries with the treaty of Worms in 1521 and remained almost unmodified until the end of First World War (Bufon, 1992a). The current border line differs from the former one only because Breginj, Logje, Robidišče, and Livek in the Natisone Valley, and Senik, Golo Brdo, Vrhovlje, Hruševlje and Šlovrenc along the river Idrijca were part of the Republic of Venice, whereas Ibana, Dolenje, and Neblo were part of Austria, forming an enclave within the Venetian territory. The border in the plains followed the river Idrijca nearly to the point where it flows into the Corna, then it

went south of Chiopris, nearly as far as Palmanova, and then to the Torre river near Villesse, where it followed the Aussa in the Grado Lagoon. So the coast with Grado and Monfalcone remained part of the Republic of Venice, and the border went to the mouth of the Timavo, beneath the Doberdò plains, through Sagrado and San Canzian d' Isonzo in the south. The border was defined more precisely in the mid 18th Century, when it was rationalized and milestones were put to make it more visible, but the enclaves, however, were not eliminated. Between 1797 –1805 this border had functioned as an internal Austrian border, and then returned to a political function, by being its southernmost part shifted eastwards, as suggested by Venice already in 1583. The re-defined border went from the mouth of the Isonzo northwards to Krstenica between Anhovo and Kanal, then to Britof and down to Idrijica, where it reached the historical border. In 1809, in the war against France, Austria lost its Adriatic coast, which was partly annexed to the French Kingdom of Italy, and partly united in a new area called Ilirske Province. The border between the two French areas now followed the flow of the Isonzo, from its mouth to its source, and then along the water-shade in Rateče, which first became a border. After Napoleon's defeat in 1814 Austria received back its Italian territories, and the border of 1805 became again an internal border. From 1866 to the end of the First World War the same border became a political border once again, this time between the independent Italian Kingdom and the Austrian- Hungarian Empire.

Towards the end of the 19th century Italian demands for border changes, caused by *irredentismo* movements, increased. According to this conceit Italy wished to include in its territory the whole so-called "Italian" geographic area between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. This ideal was coherent with the geostrategic needs of the new Italian imperialist policy, which found its justification in the territory of the past Republic of Venice and the Roman *limes*. At the beginning of the First World War, Italy asked Austria in exchange for its neutrality the area of Trento, a new border on the east that would follow the water-shade between the Tagliamento and the Sava on the north, and then from the east bank of the Isonzo across the Doberdò plain to the mouth of the Timavo, and southwards the constitution of a neutral zone of Trieste that would go as far as Dragonja; in the southern Adriatic Sea Italy claimed the islands in the Dubrovnik area and the Italian authority on part of the Albanian coast. It is interesting to point out that the Italian claims for the eastern border were satisfied in many aspects after the Second World War. Considering that the Italian claims were related to parts of the Austrian territory, the Entente countries could promise Italy even much more for its co-operation. The secret London agreement, in addition to Trento, left Italy the whole South Tirol to the natural border in Brennero, Trieste,

the areas of Gorizia and Gradisca, the whole of Istria to Kvarner Sea, including its islands, as well as the administrative unit of Dalmatia with a major part of the islands.

At the peace conference in Versailles, that started at the beginning of 1919, 27 winning countries were present, but the agreements were prepared, however, by a minor group, represented by only four states: USA, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Italy prepared a memorandum for the "Adriatic" question, claiming not only the territory promised in the London agreement, but also Postojna, Cerknica, Rijeka and Bakar, which would ensure the naturally and historically determined border. The Yugoslav side presented a memorandum as well, following Wilson's principle of human rights and self-determination, emphasising that the whole eastern Adriatic coast from Monfalcone southwards was compactly and continuously inhabited by Slavic populations, except for five villages north of Pula. Additionally, these populations were said to be in majority in all urban centres except for Gorizia, Trieste and Istrian cities, Lošinj, Rijeka, and Zadar. On the basis of national principles, the Yugoslav delegation suggested a border which would follow the old Italian-Austrian border in the northern section, whilst its southern part would go beyond Cormons, through Gradisca to Monfalcone, leaving Gorizia to Yugoslavia, and Cormons and Monfalcone to Italy. Finally, the American delegation suggested a kind of compromise, leaving nearly the whole area of Gorizia and Istra, including Trieste, to Italy, and Notranjska, Rijeka, and Dalmatia to Yugoslavia. After a short and unsuccessful Italian-American discussion it was decided that the two states concerned should discuss their border directly. Since Wilson's electoral defeat negatively influenced the Yugoslav bargaining power, the Rapallo bilateral agreement passed in November 1920, representing a very satisfactory result for Italy.

The new border between the Kingdoms of Italy and SHS (Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia) did not follow any "natural" logic any longer. It represented, on the contrary, the actual geostrategic "war" border, that should function at the same time as the biggest hindrance between the two countries. This border followed the orographic line from the three-border point on the Pec mountain through Ponce to Mangart, then to Triglav between the Soča and the Sava Dolinka, to Možica between the Soča and the Sava Bohinjka, and finally to the Idrijski pass between the Soča and the Sora, where the borderline abandoned the water-shade, leaving the mines of Idrija and the roads to it to Italy. Then it went up to Postojna, Snežnik, and Učka. In the neighbourhood of Rijeka a neutral territory was constituted, including the road and the railway to Rupa, whereas Zadar and the islands of Cres, Lošinj, Srakane, Ušnje, Lastovo, and Palagruža became Italian enclaves.

At the end of the Second World War the western al-

lied forces imposed the rule of the Belgrade agreement, according to which they ruled the corridor Trieste-Tarvisio. The Yugoslav forces were obliged to abandon the conquered territories west of the Soča, and were later forbidden to trespass the so-called Morgan line, which divided the so-called "contested area". This includes the territory between the political border antecedent to the First World War, and the border resulted from the Rapallo agreement. It was first divided into two occupation zones: the Anglo-American forces ruled zone A, which included Tarvisio, Bovec, Kobarid, Gorizia, Trieste, and the enclave around Pula; the Yugoslav army controlled zone B, which included the rest of the territory. Even if this was only a military demarcation line, it influenced the later border negotiations and remained valid until September 1947, when the agreement of the peace treaty were implemented. The Morgan line differed from the previous Italian-Yugoslav line in the sense that it moved from Mangart to Predel and followed the left riverside of the Koritnica and Soča, to Sveta Gora near Gorizia, where it followed the railway, which remained in A zone, passed Štanjel and Štorje and then turned southwards through Glinščica and Ospo to Muggia reaching the sea at Debeli rtič.

During border negotiations, both the Italian and the Yugoslav party presented their own memorandums concerning the border. The Italian memorandum insisted on the so-called second Wilson line, which had been agreed previously by Yugoslavia, the latter, on the other hand, insisted on the respect of the existing ethnic borders as the basis for the new political border, and therefore claimed not only the Venezia-Giulia, as the Italians called the territory achieved after the First World War, but also the Beneška Slovenija, Resia and Valcanale. The first London conference named a committee of four winning countries which should study the course of the ethnic border and the possibility of internationalising the port of Trieste. Each of the four countries presented its own border proposal: these proposals were very similar when considering the northern part of the border, which was based on the historical border, but they differed in many ways when regarding the southern part of the border. Among these proposals, the French one was chosen during the second meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Paris, because it was the closest to the criterion of ethnic balance, which should have left about the same number of minority members to both states. During this meeting, also the constitution of the Free Territory of Trieste was planned, bordered on the south and east on the French line, and on the north on the Timavo. The Soviet Union agreed surprisingly quickly to the western proposal, and so it was definitely accepted at the beginning of 1947. The Free Territory of Trieste was never properly implemented because the superpowers could not agree on the identity of the governor, due to the increasing tension between the west

and the east. Therefore this territory remained divided into two zones by the Morgan line: zone A with Trieste and northwards from the Morgan line was ruled by the Anglo-Americans, zone B by the Yugoslavs. In 1954, however, the London Memorandum of agreement was accepted. According to this, zone A became Italian, and zone B Yugoslav; the border between the two zones was slightly modified on behalf of Yugoslavia, so that a new port in Koper could be built. The Italian-Yugoslav political border was confirmed, and the maritime border defined during Osimo agreement in 1975.

b) The Austrian-Slovene and the Hungarian-Slovene border

After the end of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire the Slovenian party was committed to define a new border in the north as well, so that it could unite all the Slovenians in one ethno-political entity. This northern border, from the Slovenian point of view, would have followed the line Hermagor-Villach-Klagenfurt-St.Veit-Voelkermarkt-St. Andrae-Dravograd-Radlje ob Dravi-Spielfeld-Radkersburg-Szentgotthard (ES, 1987). In juxtaposition to this, the regional government of Carinthia claimed that the whole German speaking territory of the region and the bilingual areas, too, should become part of the new Austrian state, if the population decided so. In the Styria region, the municipality of Maribor voted for Austria; at the end of 1918 the general Maister, the commanding officer of the Slovenian army, rebelled against this, and disarmed the German sentinels, occupied the line between Tainach and Radkersburg, and proclaimed himself the commanding officer of the town of Maribor and the whole Slovene part of Styria. At the same time volunteers from Celje occupied Bleiburg and Voelkermarkt, whilst in western Kaernten, the Slovenian army crossed Ljubelj and obtained the demarcation line that followed the river Gail/Zilja to its confluence with Gailitz/Ziljica, and from Drava to Breze in front of Voelkermarkt. During the Austrian-Yugoslav negotiations in Graz at the beginning of 1919, it was agreed that Carinthia would be divided by a line suggested by a board of American experts. This board of experts, supported by President Wilson's opinion, stated that the Klagenfurt basin was a geographic and economic unity which could not be divided, so the border should follow the Karavanke. New reciprocal armed attacks followed, until the Yugoslav army conquered the whole Carinthia, including Klagenfurt. New negotiations took place, and the provisional border confirmed the Yugoslav occupation of the southern Carinthia, except for Klagenfurt, which became part of a neutral zone.

In the meantime the Yugoslav delegation at the peace conference in Versailles, suggested that the border should follow the line from Hermagor to the Ossiach lake and St.Veit eastward, confirming thus the cease-fire

line; the Entente countries on the other hand suggested different borders. Finally it was decided that in the most contested area of Klagenfurt a plebiscite had to be held. The Yugoslav delegation rejected this proposal, arguing that this territory should be divided following the new border, so that the northern part would remain Austrian and the southern would become Yugoslav. Pressed by the great powers, the Yugoslav delegation at the end accepted the agreement, and the Yugoslav army had to move from the occupied territory to the previous border and the northern plebiscite zone (B zone) was occupied by the Austrian army. The western allies suggested different borders for the Styria sector, too, and then finally agreed on the border along the river Mura. In consequence, Radkersburg was destined to Austria, Maribor to the Yugoslav kingdom. The treaty between Austria and the Entente, accepted in September 1919, stated that the southern Austrian border should leave the valley of Mežica and the municipality of Jezersko to Yugoslavia, whereas Austria should keep the Gail valley with Villach, and Italy should keep Valcanale and the municipality of Fusine. This treaty also defined the Austrian-Yugoslav border in Styria, which should have been defined in detail by a special committee consisting by members of the great powers, Austria and Yugoslavia. In Carinthia, the plebiscite had to be held, first in Zone A: in the event of a positive result for Yugoslavia, a second plebiscite would have been held in Zone B. October 1920, in 51 municipalities of Zone A, 22 thousand people voted for Austria, and only 15 thousand voted for Yugoslavia, therefore the whole plebiscite territory became part of Austria, and the political border became that one suggested by the British in 1919. Although the question of the Austrian-Yugoslavian border was issued again by Yugoslavia after the Second World War, the 330 km long border has not changed ever since.

No further changes to the Hungarian-Slovenian 120 km long border have been made since the end of First World War, too, when, according to the Yugoslav proposal during the peace conference in Versailles, the former border between the Austrian and Hungarian part of the monarchy was moved to the point where the Mura meets the Raba.

c) The Croatian-Slovene border

The internal Slovenian borders within the territory of former Yugoslavia had a similar historical basis as the external ones (Klemenčič, 1991). The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was, of course, divided into three units reflecting the ethnic division of the state. The Serbian part, however, included Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, and the central authority ruled the local authorities of Slovenia and Croatia as well. The region of Ljubljana included the region of Kastav, whereas Maribor included the whole

Medžimurje and the town of Čakovec. With the constitution of "banovine" in the kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, new changes were brought to the internal borders. The border between the Slovenian Dravska banovina and the Croatian Savska banovina was changed, and the provinces of Kastav, Čakovec, Prelog, and Črnomelj became part of Savska banovina. Dravska banovina, on the other hand, obtained the province of Čabar. This situation was modified again in 1931, when the province of Črnomelj and the newly constituted province of Metlika returned to Dravska banovina and the province of Čabar became part of Savska banovina. Thus, the new border between the Croatian and Slovenian banovine followed the southern border of the former Austrian regions of Styria and Carniola, and the historical border between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the monarchy, excluding the new municipality of Metlika and part of the municipality Štrigova, which were in the Croatian part, and the municipalities of Osilnica, Draga, and Trava which remained in Slovenia.

After the Second World War the internal borders between the federal republics of Yugoslavia were defined or confirmed again. Thus, the border between the republics of Slovenia and Croatia was defined, and the same border became a state border in 1991. This "new" 670 km long border has a long tradition, especially in its central part along the Kolpa, Gorjanci, or Žumberačka gora, Sotla and Drava. It was created, in fact, in various periods between the 10th and the 12th century as the southern border of the Habsburg empire, and the line of this border was modified somehow only by the constitution of "Vojna krajina" in the 16th century. The eastern border section in Medžimurje appeared as an administrative border first in 1929, and in 1945 some modifications to this border were made, so that the villages of Gibina, Globoka, Kopriva, Razkrižje, Šprinc, and Veščica became Slovenian. The western sector of the current Slovene-Croatian border, from the mountains around Snežnik to the sea, was formed much later, even if it runs not very far away from the regional border of Istria during the Austrian period. The border section to the Free Territory of Trieste was defined in 1945, following previous local borders and the ethnic border between Slovenes and Croats. The last part of the border to the sea along the Dragonja, was defined after the division of the Free Territory of Trieste between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1954. This section mainly followed the ethnic border and was slightly modified in 1956, when the villages of Abitanti, Belvederi, Brezovica, Graden, Koromači-Boškini, Močunigi, Pregara and Sirči became part of Slovenia.

The "precatégorisation" of the previous republican border between Slovenia and Croatia, into a state border in 1991, brought new problems connected with a more exact and proper definition of the latter, but also of the new maritime border in the gulf of Piran (Gosar, Kle-

menčič, 1994). The problems connected with the definition of the border on the continent are mainly due to the regulation of waterways or modifications of waterbeds, considering that 44% of the Slovenian-Croatian border follows, in fact, the hydrographic principle. Bigger differences between the natural riverbeds and the new waterways after the regulation of border rivers can be noted especially along the Mura from Hotize to the border with Hungary, and along the Sotla at Rogatec. The most unusual border section with many invasions and functional enclaves on both sides, however, may be found around Brezovica north of Metlika, as a result of the partition of territory in the feudal period. Both states have already found an agreement about the "rationalisation" of the major part of the above mentioned border problems. Opinions differ in greater extent only for the westernmost border section from the village of Mlini upon the Dragonja, towards the sea, because the choice between the new and the old riverbed will determine the starting point for the maritime border as well. Croatia asserts the international maritime laws, that suggests median lines, which would divide the gulf of Piran in two equal parts. Slovenia, on the other hand, claims a division that would enable it to control the major part of the gulf, basing its claims on historical traditions of ruling the gulf and on its very slight maritime potential, thus the international law principles of *"uti posseditis"* and *"sui generis"*, which are part of the maritime law, too (Blake, Topalović, 1996).

Slovenia as a borderland, and general features of its border sections

The present status of Slovenia as a borderland is clear from the ratio between the surface of the state (20.256 km²) and the total length of the political borders (1160 km). On the basis of these two data we can calculate that there is 5,7 km of border per 100 km². A higher proportion of borders to land is present in Europe only in Luxembourg (nearly 9 km each 100 km²). Slovenia is thus second, followed by Moldavia, Switzerland, and Belgium. Even if we consider as a criterion of defining the border status of the country, a 25 km wide stretch of border area, and multiply it by the length of the political borders, we realise that in Slovenia border areas include nearly the whole territory of the state, similarly to the already-mentioned small countries, where border areas represent more than 75% of the whole territory (Bufon, 1996a). The "borderness" of Slovenia can be understood more accurately by calculating the ratio between all the bordering municipalities, i.e. the municipalities which are located within a 25 km distance from the border, and all the municipalities in Slovenia. In this way we find that as much as 61% of the Slovenian municipalities are bordering municipalities. Even if we limit the border belt to a width of 10 km, the

percentage of bordering municipalities still account for a 50%. The border character of Slovenia is furthermore made evident by the fact that its capital town Ljubljana, if travelling by car, is only 60 km from the Austrian border, 90 km from the Italian border, and 110 km from the Croatian border. The most distant border from Ljubljana is the Hungarian, about 220 km.

The traffic crossing the Slovenian border is also coherent with the Slovenia's borderland status. The number of people crossing the Slovenian border by car increased between 1992 and 2000 from 140 millions to 180. This means that an average of half a million people travel across the Slovenian border every day. If we consider that 30% of these are Slovenian citizens, who make about 50 million border crossings a year, we find that about 140 thousand Slovenian citizens, or 7% of the whole population, travel across the border daily. This information is also an important feature in measuring the "borderness" of Slovenia, because it enables us to calculate that each Slovenian citizen (including children and elderly people) visits a foreign country on average once a fortnight. According to the information of the Slovenian Institute for Statistics, the foreigners who crossed the Slovenian border in 2000 were most often Croats (about 40 million, or 22% of all the crossings), Italians (about 38 millions, or 21%), Austrians (about 23 million, or 13%), and Germans (about 13 million), followed by Czechs (3 million), Hungarians (2,5 million), Swiss (2 million), Slovaks and Dutch (about 1 million). The inhabitants of other former Yugoslav republics made up in total about 2,5 million crossings. The above disposition show us that the structure of border crossing is a combination of dominant local or inter-state, and international transitional traffic, which is more frequent in the summer. Table 1 shows the division of border crossings in different border sectors, it also shows the structure of the crossings from year 1992 to 2000.

**Table 1: The change of structure of the border crossings in different sectors in Slovenia in 1992-1998 (SIS).
Tabela 1: Spremembe v strukturi mejnih prehodov v različnih sektorjih Slovenije v obdobju 1992-1998 (SIS).**

Border	Passengers (in milion)			Passengers (in %)		
	1992	1995	2000	1992	1995	2000
SLO/I	51,4	74,5	64,9	36,0	41,3	36,3
SLO/A	39,4	50,7	48,6	27,6	28,1	27,1
SLO/H	1,9	4,8	4,1	1,3	2,7	2,3
SLO/CRO	50,2	50,3	61,3	35,1	27,9	34,3
Total	142,9	180,3	178,9	100,0	100,0	100,0

There has been a great increase in cross-border traffic on the Slovenian-Italian border until 1995 (from 51 to 74 millions, or an increase of 45%), and a stabilisation of this phenomenon to about 65 million border

crossings. This is a consequence of the introduction of fuel cards in Friuli-Venezia Giulia which permit the inhabitants to purchase fuel at an equivalent price to that found in Slovenia. The traffic across the Austrian-Slovenian border increased between 1992 and 1995 by one fourth, and it has stabilized at about 50 million border crossings a year. The biggest relative increase of cross-border traffic has occurred on the Slovenian-Hungarian border. This border used to be virtually hermetically closed before the 90's. The cross-border traffic increased by 150% in the period between 1992 and 1995 and since then has stabilized to 4 million border crossings a year. Such an intense increase has been influenced by the liberalisation of Hungarian society, and by the modification of the Hungarian borderland, and its adjustment to the cross-border traffic. The border city of Lenti in Hungary, has become, in fact, one of the most attractive shopping centres with customers from the whole of eastern Slovenia and even from Ljubljana. A bigger change in figures can be noticed on the Slovenian-Croatian border, which reached its maximum in 1994 with 66 millions border crossings, about one third more than in year 1992. The next year, however, the number of passengers crossing the border dropped visibly, but it has increased again recently. These fluctuations are due to the situation in the former Yugoslavia and it emphasises the gap among the number of border crossings in this border section, which are due to local or inter-state cross-border traffic, and potential transitory traffic, that could derive from other regions of former Yugoslavia. Generally speaking, in the period between 1992 and 2000, the structure did not change much.

About 36% of the total passenger traffic in Slovenia crossed the Italian-Slovenian border in both years, a slight decrease can be noticed on the Austrian-Slovenian border (from 27,6% to 27,1%), and the Slovenian-Croatian border (from 35,1% to 34, 3%). On the contrary a definite increase in border traffic occurred across the Slovenian-Hungarian border (from 1,3% to 2,3%).

It is evident from table 2 that the most intense cross-border traffic in the period 1992-2000, considering the length of the border line, was that on the Slovenian-

Italian border. This border section represents only 17% of the entire border line, but as much as 38% of the whole cross-border traffic. The traffic across the Slovenian-Austrian border is more proportional with its length, whereas it is disproportional on the borders with Croatia and Hungary. The Slovenian-Italian border is also the most permeable, and we find here 40% of all Slovenian border posts. This means more than 17 border passes per 100 km, and in the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border they are even more frequent with about 25 border posts per 100 km, or one per 4 km, whilst the general Slovenian average is 8 border passes per 100 km. The Slovenian-Austrian and Slovenian-Hungarian averages are quite close to this average, with 7 border posts per 100 km, whereas the Slovenian-Croatian border has a rather lower average: less than 5 border passes per 100 km.

The border pass Šentilj, on the motorway Maribor-Graz, has the highest number of crossings out of all road border passes, nearly 19 million passengers in 2000. More than 10 million passengers crossed the border posts Škofije on the road Trieste-Koper, and the border pass Fernetiči on the Ljubljana-Trieste road. These most busy border passes are followed by border posts, where in the same year from 5,5 to 7,5 million passengers travelled: Obrežje on the road Ljubljana-Zagreb, Gruškovlje on the road Zagreb-Maribor, Vrtojba on the road Ljubljana-Gorica, Rožna dolina on the road Nova Gorica-Gorica, Sečovelje and Dragonja on the road Koper-Istra, Kozina on the Trieste-Divača-Rijeka road, Jelšane on the road Ljubljana-Rijeka and the Karavanke tunnel border pass on the road Ljubljana-Klagenfurt. All the above mentioned border posts represent 13% of the total number of Slovenian border passes. Other, more regional border posts (representing 31% of all border passes), registered in 2000 from about 1 million to 5 millions border crossings per year. Definitely more local are those border passes (56% of all border passes), crossed by less than 1 million or even 100 thousand people per year.

In addition to the cross-border road traffic another 3 million train passengers, and about 1 million passengers entering Slovenia by plane or ship, have to be added.

Table 2: Some basic features of the Slovenian borders (SIS).

Tabela 2: Nekaj osnovnih značilnosti slovenskih mej (SIS).

Border	Percentage of the total border length	Number of border passes with statistically relevant cross-border traffic	Percentage of border passes	Average number of border passes per 100 km.	Percentage of the total cross-border traffic (period 1992-1998)
SLO/I	17,4	35	38,5	17,3	38,0
SLO/A	27,9	24	26,3	7,4	27,6
SLO/H	7,6	6	6,6	6,8	2,2
SLO/CRO	47,1	26	28,6	4,8	32,2
Total	100,0	91	100,0	7,8	100,0

This traffic, however, does not affect the Slovenian border areas. Goods transport is mainly transitory and it is shipped on roads for the most part (77%). In 2000 more than 25,6 million tons of goods crossed Slovenia's borders and travelled on its roads, plus 8 million tons by railway. 63% of this was transit, whereas the rest was part of the Slovenian import and export. Goods are mainly shipped across 9 border passes (82% of the transits): Vrtojba (3,9 millions tons) and Fernetiči (3,7 millions tons) on the Slovenian-Italian border, Dolga vas (3,4 millions tons) on the Slovenian-Hungarian border, Šentilj (2,6 millions ton) and the Karavanke tunnel (1,8 millions tons) on the Slovenian-Austrian border, and Obrežje (2,2 millions tons), Gruškovlje (1,4 million ton), Središče ob Dravi (1,1 million tons) and Zavrč (1,0 million tons) on the Slovenian-Croatian border. A special case is the port of Koper which handles over 10 millions tons of goods, of which 45% to 60% are in transit. The countries which have used increasingly the port of Koper since the mid 80's include Austria, accounting for 40% of all transitional goods, followed by Hungary with 25%, and the Czech and Slovak republics, who together account for another fourth of the whole transit. It is interesting to note that the port of Koper has become the most important port for Austria, since 35% of the total Austrian maritime traffic travel via Koper. In this way the port of Koper has substituted the traditional Austrian port, Trieste, although the latter has an agreement with Austria which grants cheaper railway transport. Instead, the port of Koper has gained a considerable part of the Austrian "market" thanks, especially, to cheaper and faster services, and to the creation of a special terminal for the import of Asian cars. For the same reason it has become a concurrent with the port of Rijeka as an "additional" Hungarian port, in spite of the hindrances caused by the weak road connections between Slovenia and Hungary.

In order to not only detect the permeability level of different Slovenian border sections and their importance within the total cross-border traffic, but also to create some means of categorisation of the Slovenian border areas, a social-economic analysis on the basis of a certain number of indicators was carried out (Bufon, 1993a). At this point it is important to note that 40% of the Slovenian municipalities, where nearly 42% of the whole population live, border to one of the neighbouring countries. There is a rather balanced population density in the Slovenian-Italian border area, considering the surface of the territory: about 19% of the territory and of the inhabitants of Slovenian borderlands. The same may be found in the Slovenian-Croatian borderland (about 40% of the territory and of the inhabitants of Slovenian borderlands). On the contrary, in the Slovenian-Austrian border area, due to the inclusion of the municipality of Maribor, a minor demographic "surplus" can be seen (33% of the territory and 37% of the in-

habitants). The Slovenian-Hungarian border area, on the contrary, is characterized by a demographic "deficit" (9% of the territory and only 4% of the inhabitants). Generally speaking, there are only two bigger urban municipalities with more than 50 thousand inhabitants in Slovene border areas: Maribor and Novo Mesto. Nevertheless, in the demographically "strongest" part of the Slovenian-Italian, and Slovenian-Croatian border areas, and in the whole area of Slovenian Istria, municipalities with more than 10 thousand inhabitants are more typical.

As far as the ethnic structure of the border municipalities is concerned, these are prevalently homogeneous with more than 90% of the population being Slovene. However, municipalities where other ethnic groups from former Yugoslavia, ranging from 7% to 17% of the total population, live alongside the dominant Slovenian ethnic group, are also rather common, especially in the central parts of the Slovenian-Croatian borderland and in the western part of the Slovenian-Austrian borderland. There is an even higher percentage of non-Slovenes in Slovenian Istria (especially in the municipality of Koper) where it also includes an autochthonous Italian ethnic group. In fact, the latter is more numerous in the municipality of Piran. A similar type of ethnic structure consisting of Slovenes, migrants from other former Yugoslav republics and an autochthonous ethnic minority, in this case the Hungarian, is found in the northern part of the Slovenian-Hungarian borderland. Only the municipality of Lendava in the southern part of the Slovenian-Hungarian borderland is peculiar: here, Slovenians and Hungarians each make up 45% of the population, whilst 10% are immigrants from other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

The social-economic analysis considers 18 different variables, as it can be seen in table 3. The social-demographic indexes are generally closer to the average values in the Slovenian-Austrian and Slovenian-Croatian border areas, which is especially true for the index of social dependence, whereas the index of ageing in the Slovenian-Italian (110) and especially in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area (144) is much higher than the Slovenian average (79), which is partially met only in the Slovenian-Austrian border area. Better results can be found in the Slovenian-Austrian borderland section along Drava, where there is an average of one elderly inhabitant to every two children. On the contrary, in the northern part of the Slovenian-Hungarian border area, the situation is reversed: one child for every two elderly people. The index of economic independence is generally lower in border areas than the country average (72), and only in the Slovenian-Italian border area it reaches 65, whereas it is extremely low in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area, where only one third of the active inhabitants work in the municipalities of residence. At the same time, in the bordering municipalities, there

Table 3: Selected social-economic indexes and their values for the Slovenian border areas in 1991 (SIS).**Tabela 3: Izbrani družbeno-ekonomski indeksi in njihove vrednosti za slovenska obmejna območja leta 1991 (SIS).**

Index*	SLO/I	SLO/A	SLO/H	SLO/CRO	Average index for all Slovenian border areas	Average index for the total Slovenian territory
1	40	37	41	38	38	37
2	110	82	144	97	99	79
3	65	51	36	61	56	72
4	69	69	75	71	70	60
5	16	24	52	32	28	22
6	16	28	9	14	18	18
7	47	50	60	51	51	49
8	6	8	7	8	8	7
9	45	46	50	45	46	47
10	40	45	57	45	45	45
11	2	4	10	4	4	3
12	16	15	0	6	10	37
13	5	8	8	8	7	5
14	31	20	9	19	21	44
15	102	53	16	27	49	93
16	13	21	56	27	25	14
17	41	42	25	39	39	41
18	45	38	19	34	36	46

*1 – Index of social dependence (percentage of the population under 15 and over 60 years of age);

2 – Ageing index (ratio between the number of inhabitants over 60 and the inhabitants under 15 years of age);

3 – Index of economic independence (percentage of employed among the active population within the municipality of residence);

4 – Index of spatial mobility (percentage of daily migrants among the active population);

5 – Index of agricultural potential I (percentage of intensive land use on rural surfaces);

6 – Index of agricultural potential II (percentage of farms with more than 10 hectares);

7 – General index of activity I (percentage of active population among residents);

8 – General index of activity II (percentage of unemployed population among residents);

9 – Gender-specific activity index I (percentage of female population among active population);

10 – Gender-specific activity index II (percentage of active among female population);

11 – Index of social-economic erosion I (percentage of temporary absent in foreign countries among residents);

12 – Index of social-economic erosion II (ratio between the temporary absent and the temporary present population);

13 – Index of education I (number of illiterates out of 1000 people);

14 – Index of education II (number of highly educated out of 1000 people);

15 – Index of education III (ratio between illiterates and highly educated);

16 – Social-economic index I (percentage of active population within the primary sector);

17 – Social-economic index II (percentage of active population within the secondary sector);

18 – Social-economic index III (percentage of active population within the tertiary sector).

is a higher percentage of daily migration than the national average of 60% with a value of 70%. The Slovenian-Hungarian border area is different again with a value of 75%. The highest agricultural potential can be found in the Slovenian-Croatian and especially in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area, where intensive cultures account for 52% of the agricultural land, a percentage which is two times the national average (22%). On the other hand, farms with bigger surface areas are more characteristic in the Slovenian-Austrian borderland because of the extent of forests. On the other hand, the major surface partition is found among the farms in the

Slovenian-Hungarian borderland. In this area, a higher than average percentage of active population can be found, due to the fact that the primary sector still represents the main activity (about 55% active). On the contrary, the secondary and the tertiary sector are still below the Slovenian average. The tertiary sector reaches the Slovenian average (about 45% active) only in the Slovenian-Italian borderland, and especially in its southern part where the tertiary employing structure is already dominant. The Slovenian-Hungarian borderland is peculiar again, considering the gender-specific activity index. Here, in fact, the percentage of women among

active population (50%), as well as active among women (57%) is higher than the national average (about 45% in both cases). Something similar happens to the indexes of social-economic erosion. In the Slovenian-Hungarian borderland, in fact, the percentage of temporary emigrants is 10% of the whole population, whereas the national average is 3%. Generally speaking, the social-economic attraction in border areas is centrifugal rather than centripetal, as is evident from the ratio between the number of those temporary present and temporary absent. Values higher than the national average can be found especially in the municipalities of Maribor, Muta, and to a certain extent in Nova Gorica. The percentage of illiteracy is higher than the national average everywhere, except for the Slovenian-Italian borderland. In the same areas, the number of highly educated is, of course, smaller than the national average as well. The highest percentage of highly educated (about 30 out of 1000) is found in the Slovenian-Italian borderland, the lowest (about 10 out of 1000) in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area.

So far, the analysis of the Slovenian border areas, on the basis of some selected social indicators from the 1991 census, shows deep negative differences from the national average in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area. This is the logic consequence of a long term peripheral condition and closed borders. The further hierarchic "cluster analysis" based on the values of the chosen indicators, enables us to create a more detailed typology of bordering municipalities (Bufon, 1996a). By so doing, two basic groups of bordering municipalities have been identified, characterized the first, by higher values for the chosen indexes than the national ones, and by lower values the second. A further step in the cluster analysis has shown six basic typologies of the bordering municipalities, three for each group. Within the first group, we have identified the typology of "urbanized" municipalities, where particularly higher values in all indexes are present, especially in relation to the index of social dependence, percentage of employed in the municipality of residence, the ratio between the temporary present and temporary absent population, the ratio between the number of illiterate and the highly educated, and the percentage of active population in the tertiary sector. The type of "old industrialized" municipality also has higher values in almost all indexes, whereas the typology of "newly industrialized" municipality shows a combination between positive values, especially in relation to the degree of education and social-economic improvement, and negative values especially in the indexes of social dependence and gender activity. The second group is made of the "peripheral developing municipality" type, where negative values are combined with positive, particularly in the social-demographic structure and the economic dependence. The type of "less developed peripheral municipalities" presents negative values in a

greater extent, and they concern especially the possibility of employment within the municipality of residence, the percentages of unemployment and illiteracy. Finally, the "undeveloped rural municipality" type is characterized by strong negative values in nearly all indicators, except for the percentage of intensive cultures, and the gender indexes of activity.

The typology of the "urbanized" municipality is mainly present in the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border area, in Slovenian Istra, and sporadically in the eastern part of the Slovenian-Austrian borderland, where, as it happens in the central part of the Slovenian-Croatian border area, the typology of "old industrialized" municipality is prevalent. The typology of "newly industrialized" municipality is more frequent in the northern part of the Slovenian-Italian border area. In the eastern border area, along the rivers Mura and Sotla, the "peripheral developing municipalities" type is present, whereas the rest of the eastern Slovenian-Croatian border area has the majority of less developed peripheral municipalities. The far north-eastern Slovenian municipalities bordering with Austria and Hungary represent the "undeveloped rural" typology. According to other social-economic analysis (M. Klemenčič, 1993), two major developing types of bordering municipalities are evident: those that anticipate general development processes (these are present along the Slovenian-Italian border and the Slovenian-Austrian border), and those which are continuously falling short of the average development level (the Slovenian-Hungarian border area and the eastern part of the Slovenian-Croatian border area).

The first categorisation of the Slovenian bordering municipalities was made by the "pioneer" of the Slovenian geography of border landscapes, Vladimir Klemenčič (1987; 1993a), who also defined three critical factors that influence the extent of border openness:

- The orography of the border, which divides the border areas of the two neighbouring countries;
- The level of economic development and the intensity of cross-border regional links;
- The political relationship between the two countries.

From the surveys carried out previously in the German border areas (Maier, 1983), Klemenčič noticed that among the structural factors which enable a higher degree of cross-border communication, the following are particularly important: equal industrial development on both sides of the border, command of the neighbour's language, and a general positive attitude towards the neighbouring population and cross-border co-operation. On the other hand, the factors which influence the closing of the border are: a lack of traffic connections, the consolidation of the border area on national basis, a lack of mutual planning, a low degree of social-economic development and so on. On this basis Klemenčič asserts that the border area in Slovenia with the highest level of urbanization and cross-border regional

linkages between people, economy, and culture is the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border, whereas the less developed border area is the Slovenian-Hungarian one. Since the author developed this typology combining demographic – development indexes with the permeability of different border sections, he argues that reasons for the underdevelopment and the demographic decline in the Slovenian-Hungarian border area, are not only due to the political factor of a closed border, but also the long-lasting peripheral feature of this area in relation to the developed centres of both countries. The exact opposite is found at the southern Slovenian-Italian border, where mutual co-operation has reached such a high level that it can be regarded as a new "Euroregion". The intermediate typologies of the Slovenian border areas are characterized by cross-border links at certain points only. This means that the cross-border communication is limited to few border passes, where transit traffic is predominant and border dwellers are only marginally involved.

Cross-border relationships in the Slovenian border areas

A survey of the studies of Slovene borderlands shows that the Slovene-Italian border area, particular in the Gorizia region, has been most intensively studied (Bufon, 1994a; 1994b; 1995b; 1995c; 1995d; 1996b). In the process, a special methodology has been developed, which has recently been applied to other Slovenian borderlands. This method involves firstly the analysis of the existing borders and their interdependence, duration, and location with special consideration to the effects of new borders on the formerly united regions, and on the development of cross-border co-operation. At this point the permeability of the political border is important. It can be assessed according to type of border posts, the number of border passes, and the cross-border passenger and goods traffic in different sections and in different periods. Moreover, the regional structural analysis of the border area is important, as well as the assessment of social-economic cohesion or differentiation on both regional and micro-regional level. Last, but not least, regional changes due to the presence of the border have to be considered. Quantitative surveying methods for regional analysis are used for this purpose. Firstly, statistical information from both sides of the border must be standardised. Next the influence of the border on regional transformation and differentiation can be considered. Finally, a more qualitative study of social-cultural links among the border area population, and of attitudes towards one's own border area and the neighbouring one can be conducted. This will show the motivation, direction and intensity of cross-border movement, as well as the extent of different functional and cultural cross-border spaces in the performance of spa-

tially relevant social activities of the border population. This methodology is based on a well prepared questionnaire and on a sufficiently large number of representative respondents. Moreover, it enables us to divide the studied border area into typologies and to compare different Slovenian border areas with European ones. The use of this methodology in the Gorizia border area showed that the degree of affinity of the population on either side of the border, and thus the degree of cross-border social integration, is not only higher than in other Slovene border areas, but even higher than in most European comparable borderlands. This could be explained by the fact that the border area of Gorizia is rather "young", and there is a socially and ethnically homogenous population. The surveys carried out so far have proved that these factors are an excellent basis for the creation of more integrated social spaces and for the development of better cross-border co-operation in the border areas (Bufon, 1998a; 2000c).

The Italo-Slovene border

Let us now consider different Slovenian border areas, starting with the southern Slovenian-Italian border, where the intense cross-border links have their origins in the social-cultural and social-economic relationships between the urban centres of Gorizia and Trieste, which are located in Italy, and their hinterlands in Slovenia. These relationships are amplified by the presence of an urban or urbanized autochthonous Slovenian minority in these towns and the whole border area (Bufon, 1991). The intensity of these cross-border links is thus the result of a combination of functional and other movements, particularly for reasons of shopping, work, and leisure. They can be influenced by price fluctuations, exchange rates, or purchasing power of the inhabitants in both border areas, and are thus rather unstable, driving the people in either direction. But in addition, there are more stable social-cultural links, deriving from the tendency to maintain one's existing historical and cultural space. These local elements of cross-border communication are especially evident in the border area of Gorizia, which was divided by the current border only in 1947 and prior to that there was a united administration unity with its centre in the town of Gorizia (Bufon, 2001c). The 1947 territorial division was rather uneven: 8% of the territory, but 74% of the population were incorporated into Italy, including a considerable Slovenian minority. Thus the core of the former region of Gorizia was devoid of its natural hinterland, and the hinterland lost its centre. Both the Italian and Yugoslav states were aware that the urban area of Gorizia was threatened with "berlinization", and so, as early as 1949, an agreement that allowed the opening of the first local border passes for the inhabitants who owned property in both countries was passed. Immediately after the an-

nexation of Trieste to Italy, encircled on three sides by Yugoslavia, the 1949 agreement was also applied to this province, and a further liberalisation of the border regime began. At the suggestion of Yugoslavia this agreement was extended along the whole Slovenian-Italian border, where the Slovenian minority has been present, whilst the Italian party proposed to extend the special provisions for cross-border communication also to include the whole of north-western Istria, where the Italian minority was present. From 1955 to 1960, in consequence, the local cross-border traffic in the area of Gorizia increased by 900%. This is even more significant if we consider that it had represented 95% of the total Italian-Yugoslav traffic until the mid 60's when the visa between Italy and Yugoslavia became unnecessary.

Nowadays the local traffic across the southern Slovenian-Italian border still represents 40% of the total cross-border movement (nearly one third in the area of Trieste, and about a half in the area of Gorizia), whereas only 7% of this traffic crosses the northern part of the said border. The border dwellers cross at the local border passes weekly or at least monthly. On the Slovenian side, the population say that the main motivation for visiting the Italian side, is to buy clothes and food. This principal activity is often combined with two others: visiting relatives and friends, or work. Many men from the Slovenian side of the Gorizia borderland are employed in industries in Friuli, as well as seasonal work in the vineyards in the Collio. However this has decreased lately after the improvement of the vineyard industry in the Slovenian Collio, or Brda. Women from the Karst, and Slovene and Croatian Istria, are mostly employed in Trieste as housemaids. The inhabitants of the Italian border area combine five principal reasons when crossing the Slovenian, and, in the case of "Triestini", the Croatian border: visiting friends and relatives, the purchase of fuel, food (especially meat), eating in a restaurant, and excursions.

All the above mentioned activities are performed on both sides of the border within a rather limited area, usually not further than 5 km from the border, but it can reach up to 80 km in the case of employment. To support the social-cultural links, the cultural homogeneity of the population is very important, such as the presence of the Slovenian minority in Italy, which maintains a large part of the "institutional" cross-border links with regard to sport, culture, economy, information, and co-operation between municipalities. Generally speaking, in the 70's and 80's, the Slovenian minority in Italy represented a kind of Yugoslavian "gateway into the world", since a major part of the Yugoslav transactions with Italy and western Europe passed through the Slovenian bank in Trieste (Klemenčič, Bufon, 1991). In addition to this early homoethnic and spontaneous cross-border contacts, others have been developed. Since Slovenian independence, more formal and institutionalized types of

cross-border integration began. Some of these had already been present in other European Euroregions; others are new and go beyond the limited bilateral interests into a wider Alps-Adriatic context, such as the planning of cross-border broadcasting, which should also include the minority radio and tv stations, and the idea of organising the winter Olympic games in the border area between Slovenia, Austria, and Italy.

It is to be expected that the northern part of Istria will enter this cross-border region, as soon as the international questions between Slovenia and Croatia, and between Italy and Croatia are solved, since it has traditionally gravitated towards Trieste (Bufon, 1993b; 2001d). When Slovenia becomes a member of the EU, the regional influence of Trieste will increase, and it will gain its former function in relation to south-western Slovenia, although it should be noted that new centres as Koper and Sežana, have developed, and Trieste will have to co-operate more intensely with them (Minghi, 1994). On the other hand Trieste will become again more multicultural, and the autochthonous Slovenian population, after being kept restricted for most part of the 20th Century, as Trieste was targetted by irredentists and fascists to become the "most Italian" town, will obtain again an important function in the communication between the Slovenian and Italian cultural space (Bufon, 1994c; Armstrong, 1998). Trieste has already been trying to become something more than a common shopping centre (with 10 shops per 100 inhabitants), where in the 70's and 80's people from different parts of Yugoslavia, even from southern Dalmatia and eastern Serbia, used to do their shopping, and who were partly substituted by purchasers from Hungary in the 90's, during the period of conflicts in former Yugoslavia. In the Gorizia border area there has been the separate development of Gorizia and Nova Gorica, with the latter becoming a kind of Slovenian "substitute" for the lost regional centre and recently almost a monostructural gambling centre for tourists from north-eastern Italy. Now both towns and communities on both sides will have to set more intense and cohesive links with each other, which will help in the creation of a single urban area, as it used to be before the existence of the border. As an example of the "backwardness" of the international policy towards local changes, the extraterritorial road under mount Sabotin, that links Goriška Brda with Nova Gorica, can be noticed: the building of this road had been already demanded by Yugoslavia during the peace conference, when the boundary line was accepted. It was built, however, only in the 80's, as an implementation of the Osimo agreement of 1975, when the major part of the traffic from the Brda already diverged from Nova Gorica to the urban centres in Friuli, which represent the traditional centres for the Brda/Collio area. When Slovenia becomes a member of the EU, this fenced road will probably become a tourist attraction, not just for its view of the twin-towns of Gorizia and

Nova Gorica, but also as a symbol of the divisional role of the political border in the area, similarly to the wired fence that in some parts divides these two towns. After the independence of Slovenia, the Italian post-fascists tried first to tear it down, because it was believed to hinder the Italian influence across the border, but later tried to reinforce it in order to prevent immigration from the "less developed" Slovenia.

In the northern tract of the Italian-Slovenian border the boundary line crosses less populated subalpine and alpine areas, following a long term established line (Bufon, 1992a). This border section, in fact, has not changed since its creation in the 16th century, and even if it had from time to time the function of an internal border in Italy or Austria, it has not particularly affected the cross-border contacts of the local population. Because the political boundary line here coincides with the orographic, we can say that natural barriers were stronger than political ones. The landform here has created a number of differently and unevenly connected valleys, which has influenced the structure of the population as well. On the Slovenian side things are a bit "simpler", because there is only the upper valley of the Soča, with its characteristic north-south orientation, which gravitates towards Gorizia, or to the Gorizia-Nova Gorica twin-town. On the Italian side, there is a subalpine system of valleys, upon the Natisone and its tributaries, which form a kind of fan relief converging then western of Cividale in the plain of Friuli. It is a subalpine sequence of narrow valleys, each of which flows in a separate piedmont centre. Three parallel alpine valleys (Resia, Reklanica, and Dunja), on the contrary, are not NE-SW oriented, but east-west, and they are totally isolated due to high natural barriers. Access to them is difficult even from the main valley of Bela, to which they are oriented. Finally, in the border area between Austria, Italy, and Slovenia there is the largest, again east-west oriented valley Valcanale upon the Bela, which has a road connection in the north-west direction along the Ziljica, meeting the valley of Zilja in Austria, and to the east, where it meets the upper Savska dolina in Slovenia. This peculiar configuration gave the Slovenians, who were the first colonisers of the northern part of the present Slovenian-Italian border, two settling directions: from the North, from the present Carinthia to the Valcanale in the 6th century, and to the valleys of Dunja, Reklanica, and Resia in the 10th and 11th century, where also the southern colonisation stopped. The latter, starting from the 8th century, included also the belt between the Soča and the Friuli plain north of Gorizia. Therefore, in the subalpine and pre-alpine area the Slovenes speak the so-called "littoral" dialect, whereas a Carinthian variety is spoken in the Valcanale. The valley of Resia, instead, represents a unique combination of the two, having lost, after the Friulan colonisation of the valleys of Dunja and Reklanica in the 16th century, any

contact with the northern population and took over the "southern" Slovene linguistic influences. Because of the isolation of the valley, the dialect of its inhabitants has maintained features lost a long time ago in the other Slovenian territories, and had already become interesting for many linguists in the 19th century.

The "threeborders" region

The differences between Valcanale and the remaining border area were partly caused by the political boundary line. The historical border, from Carnian Alps through Pontebba to Montasio and between the river systems of Soča/Isonzo and Tagliamento, left Valcanale and Carinthia, the upper Sava valley, part of Carniola, the Isonzo valley and part of the area around Gorizia to Austria. The rest of territory became property of the republic of Venice and later of the Kingdom of Italy. The Italian authorities committed themselves to an intense assimilation process of the autochthonous Slovenian population, especially from 1866 onwards. The traffic openness of Valcanale has also allowed bigger immigration fluxes. With the development of iron industry and economic exchange, Germans and Friulans started to populate this valley since the end of the middle ages. Germans became the dominant community until the end of the First World War. Then the valley became part of the Italian territory and hence the Italian population has become dominant (Klemenčič, 1996; Steinicke, 1996; 1998). An interesting example of how economic motivation can overcome natural barriers and political borders is the tunnel built between Log pod Mangart and the Cave del Predil plumb mine, with its mine railway which was used by the mine workers to travel from Slovenia to Italy, until the mine was closed after the Second World War. Today Valcanale is the only border area, where an Italian or romance population (80%) lives alongside the autochthonous Slovenian and German minorities, consisting of about 10% each. The initiative for a greater co-operation in the three border area of Austria, Italy and Slovenia was not born by chance and neither was the idea of holding the cross-border winter Olympic games in the Valcanale. This idea was later accepted by the Austrian, Italian, and Slovenian authorities and provided the basis for the first mutual considerations in the Threeborders area (Backe et al., 1990; Moritsch, Zimmermann et al., 1998). In the last few years the Valcanale has become a real corridor. The Alpe Adria motorway was built in 1986, and the building of a new railway has commenced. With 10 millions goods in transit and more than 20 million passengers it has become the second most important route, linking Italy with central Europe, after the Brennero.

According to a survey of residents in the Threeborders area carried out at the beginning of the 90's (Gosar, 1993b), there were some differences between the trans-

border activities of Slovenians and Austrians, when compared with Italians. Half of the Austrians and Slovenes interviewed said that they visit the neighbouring country once or a few times a year, 10% said that they visit it weekly, and from 25% to 30% monthly. Whereas, one third of Italians never travels to the other two countries, whilst 20% of the respondents visits the neighbouring countries monthly or even weekly. It has to be pointed out that these answers were given before the introduction of lower priced fuel for the inhabitants of the Italian border area. A typical feature of the functional cross-border visits is that the Slovenians come from the border areas and usually travel to the bigger neighbouring urban centres, whereas the Italians and Austrians usually come from the urban centres and travel to the nearborder area. A special case is the town of Tarvisio. With its 5000 thousand inhabitants it performs a similar function to Trieste, attracting purchasers from Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, and even Germany, who buy mostly Mediterranean food and clothing. About one third of the respondents in the Threeborder area has relatives in the neighbouring country. There is, however, a certain difference in the knowledge of the language of the neighbours: German is understood by 80% of those interviewed in Slovenia, and 70% of those in Italy; Italian is understood by 60% of those interviewed in Slovenia, mainly in the Isonzo valley, and 50% of those in Austria; Slovenian is understood by 40% of those interviewed in Italy and in Austria. Although the number of functional cross-border visits is lower than that in the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border, the potential social-cultural links, shown by the knowledge of the neighbouring languages, is rather high. This factor proves the assertion that cultural spaces are much more stable than political ones, in spite of evident changes caused by the partition of the original social and cultural structures, especially at the beginning of the 20th century (Moritsch, 1996; Armstrong, 1998). The elimination of outside factors, the normalisation of international relationships, and international integration, have helped to create linking elements, reducing the peripheral character of the Threeborders region, a condition that has not been lessened even by the high transitional fluxes. There are still differences among the Italian, Slovenian, and Austrian parts of the Threeborders. The Slovenian and Austrian part, are, in fact, much better integrated in the wider regional context than the Italian. The result of a recent survey along the Slovenian –Italian border is not a coincidence. About 60% of the respondents in Collio and Valcanale felt the need to improve cross-border integration, whereas this was not felt so strongly in the southern part of the border, and particularly in Trieste, where improvement of cross-border integration is supported by only 30% of respondents. The Slovenian results show a similar geographic disposition, although the respondents were not

so enthusiastic about the potential for integration (Bufon, 2000a). Unfortunately, no similar interviews have been performed in the Austrian part. In any case, no special enthusiasm is expected, with regard to the idea of stronger cross-border links.

Finally, the Threeborders region represents both the advantages and the disadvantages of the central European space and its social and political transformation which have opened processes of spatial convergence and divergence, respectively. The fact that this has long been a united cultural space with a common way of life, but where different ethnic-linguistic communities have coexisted, has to be emphasized. The creation of nation states divided this region into three parts and hindered the normal communication. Later social and economic development has created an area of intense transit in two simultaneous, but separate directions at the Slovenian-Austrian and Italian-Austrian border. The tourist flux has also become more consistent (especially in Slovenia), but it is not equally spread. Therefore, we can say that the "normalisation" of international relationships after the elimination of the "iron curtain" has not reached the local level yet and provided the basis for a stronger cross-border integration. On the macro-regional level, it brought Austria to become a EU member and opened this opportunity to Slovenia, too. But so far, hardly any change has been noticed on the local level since the elimination of the border formalities between Italy and Austria. We can expect that no major changes will occur when border formalities will be abolished on the Slovene-Italian, and Slovenian-Austrian border as well. This is also due to the lack of proper infrastructure and institutional decision-making to support the cross-border communication, such as the unification of border area municipalities, the creation of other common social, economic, and cultural institutions, or of a common co-ordination, plan, and information centre, as is the improvement of the roads in the east-west direction. The idea of organising the winter Olympic games may create the opportunity for greater co-operation in this sense, although it is quite likely that another rejection will decrease the interest of the institutions for further co-operation with the neighbours. Another issue that has slowed down cross-border communication is the past state centralist and standardisation policy. Other reasons can be sought in the lack of bigger urban centres, the low demographic and economic potential of the area, and in the lack of active national minorities on different sides of the border: Valcanale is the only ethnically mixed area of the Threeborders region, with only two-thousand Slovenians and Germans. Nevertheless, the answer to the original question can be found elsewhere: the existing local communities in the Threeborders region have maintained their features within a situation of coexistence, only because they did not use to communicate much with each other. This characteristic, typical of the

"old" borderlands and of the Alpine region in general, could continue to characterize the region even in the future and thus represent a possible way of cultural and spatial self-preservation of its diversity (Bufon, 1999c; 2000a).

The Austrian-Slovene border

Even stronger are the effects of this division on the intensity of cross-border contacts in the western part of the Slovenian-Austrian border, where the political border is based on the old regional border between Carinthia and Carniola following the orographic border between the hydrographic systems of the Sava and the Drava, that flow along the Karavanke. Because of this, the Slovenian autochthonous population in Carinthia has remained isolated from the major part of its ethnic group, as it happened to the so called "Venetian Slovenes" living in the valleys of the Natisone and the Ter (their name derives from the fact that they had lived in the Republic of Venice since the 16th century), especially after 1866. The difference is that the Venetian Slovenes could not take part in the Slovenian national movement and have, therefore, never developed a sense of national identity. The Slovenians in Carinthia, living for many centuries in that region, underwent a process of integration and assimilation into the German world so that their regional identity has become stronger than the national. This was quite clear during the plebiscite after the end of the First World War, when the majority of the Slovenes voted for the stability and the maintenance of the regional structure, and not for a possible annexation to the kingdom of Yugoslavia (Bufon, 1999c). It is still evident nowadays, since the majority of the Slovenes living in Austria call themselves "Carinthian Slovenes" or "Austrians" (Zupančič, 1997). For the same physical and social reasons the Slovenian population of Carinthia has not taken part in the cross-border movements in any greater extent to ethnic German Carinthians. Moreover, their attraction toward Klagenfurt and other urban centres has increased their presence in areas further from the border, but it diminishes their presence in traditionally Slovenian areas. However, only the bordering municipalities in Podjuna along the Karavanke have peripheral features, whilst the area around Klagenfurt and Villach, with highly developed tourist resorts, is one of the most dynamic Austrian areas (Steinicke, Zupančič, 1995). The intensity of cross-border contacts in this border area is very close to that of the Threeborders region. The population on the Austrian side cross the border principally in order to buy fuel, cigarettes from the duty-free shops, and eat in a popular fish restaurant. The latter has started a new trend: the development of "Mediterranean" restaurants in the Alpine region, which somehow emphasizes the Slovenian tourist slogan "on the sunny part of the Alps". The population on the

Slovenian side go to Austria for shopping, and also work. The Slovene language has gained the role of business language, similarly to what has happened in the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border. Its use has become stronger in the bordering area because of economic immigrants from Slovenia, and due to the presence of Slovenian capital in the Austrian banks following the creation of joint-ventures. This, however, decreased since the independence of Slovenia.

The cross-border links along the eastern part of the Slovenian-Austrian border, where the historical region of Styria was divided on ethnic basis at the end of the First World War, have been studied in less extent. The loss of the former hinterland, the interruption of the traffic fluxes, and the passage of land to the rule of the other state have negatively influenced the process of development, especially on the Austrian side, which has become one of the poorest regions in the country (Zsilincsar, 1993). Therefore, the local population has not shown particular enthusiasm towards cross-border co-operation. Local and innovative initiatives, both economic and social, have been started, encouraging cross-border contacts and co-operation in this area. The urban cross-border communication between Graz and Maribor is definitely different and more intense from the rest of the cross-border links in the less developed and more peripheral areas. In a more optimistically balanced situation an improvement in the development of the corridor Graz-Maribor to become the new centre of this part of the Slovenian-Austrian border, can be expected. The co-operation and economic complementarity of both towns might not strengthen the present situation in the strict urban area, but might help neighbouring rural areas to develop. For this purpose, the Austrian part should support the development of the area between the border and Graz and the Slovenian part should widen the development targets to the border (Steiner et al., 1993). Further development in this border area has been supported by intense local cross-border traffic, very similar way of life on both sides of the border, based on the previous coexistence in the same social space and the widespread knowledge of the neighbours' language. This is especially the case among the Slovenians. The presence of the autochthonous Slovenian minority in the Austrian part of Styria, in the area of Radgona, is also important, although it has not been officially acknowledged yet, nor had the opportunity to enhance its natural role of a cross-border linking element.

The "fourborders" region

The extreme north-eastern political border, where four countries meet: Slovenia, Austria, Croatia, Hungary, has influenced deeply the social-geographic development. The area east of the Mura together with the Croatian territory used to be part of the Hungarian part of the

Hapsburg monarchy and it became part of the Yugoslav monarchy after the First World War. The new border broke the former traditional links, leaving a Slovenian minority in the area of Radgona, and in the Austrian and Hungarian territories nearby the river Raba, and a Hungarian minority in the area of Lendava and Goričko. It is interesting that the inhabitants of Prekmurje used to gravitate towards north-west, it means the Austrian part of the monarchy, to conduct their economic activities, rather than the east (current Hungary), or the south (current Slovenia). A later reorientation was hindered by the absence of a bridge across the Mura in the Slovenian part until the First World War, but also in the inter-war period the traffic lines westwards have not improved much. Although the political border has not been modified since the end of the Second World War, it functioned as a strong barrier between the countries, especially towards Austria until the 50's, and later towards Hungary. This caused the area to become strongly peripheral until the 70's and 80's when the Slovenian authorities tried to industrialize Murska Sobota and Lendava (Klemenčič, 1991). Prekmurje remained a kind of "dead area" until the end of the iron curtain and the liberalisation of the economic changes between the east and the west, which occurred mainly through the Slovenian-Hungarian border, in spite of the lack of modern roads and railways. In the past decades, however, the Austrian border has become more permeable: nine border passes have been opened, prevalently intended for local land owners' use, whose propriety is in two countries. As in other borderlands, especially in the southern part of the Slovenian-Italian border and in the eastern part of the Slovenian-Croatian border, this phenomenon of people who owning land in two states, is due to local social links between the people of an area divided subsequently by a political border. The solution of this problem along the Yugoslav-Austrian border was similar to that along the Yugoslav-Italian border: the inhabitants of the 10 km wide borderland belt were permitted to gain special rights to cross the border. This led in western Prekmurje to large numbers of daily and weekly workers employed in Austria. At the same time the nearly hermetic Yugoslav-Hungarian border caused temporal or durable migration, and an eventual demographic erosion (Olas, Kert, 1993).

In the current Slovene-Hungarian border there were nine border passes until 1948. Until the 90's only two have remained and farming on both sides of the border was not allowed. Of enormous importance for the cross-border contacts was the opening of the border passes Dolga vas and Hodoš in 1966, when the visa became unnecessary. In the next years another two border passes were opened, and after 1995 other two. Only a few surveys have been carried out on cross-border links of the inhabitants of the Slovenian-Hungarian border area, and they regard in particular interethnic relations

(Mejak, 1993; 1996). These show that the Hungarian minority in Slovenia is more interested in the visits across the border than their ethnic Slovene co-citizens: 44% of the former group travelled across the border weekly or monthly, and 24% of the second group travelled to Hungary with the same frequency (in year 1991). Among the principal reasons, shopping is the most important, especially in Lenti, where market day, which used to be once a week, now takes place everyday, occupying all available public and private spaces. The members of the Hungarian minority have of course other reasons for crossing the border: visiting friends and relatives (60% of the motivations listed) and cultural events (30%). Only 5% of the people interviewed in the Hungarian part travelled across the border, showing very clearly the situation along the closed border. The answers were more positive in the case of members of the Slovenian minority: 12% of them, in fact, travelled across the border. Among the major reasons was shopping (about 55% of the motivations listed) combined with visits to relatives (about 50%). Cultural events, on the contrary, influence only scarcely the cross-border mobility of the inhabitants of Hungary (embracing only about 10% of the motivations).

The Croatian-Slovene border

The longest Slovenian boundary with Croatia has gained importance among geographers after 1991, when this republic boundary became an international border. Actually, the Slovenian-Croatian border is particularly interesting, because its central part is among the oldest European borders. It used to be the border between the Hungarian and Austrian parts of the Habsburg monarchy, and it had been established between the 10th and 12th century, as the present border between the Czech and Slovak republics. As such it has influenced the development of later ethnic spaces, and thus the absence of an autochthonous minority on each side of the boundary, is not surprising, in spite of its high permeability. The same ethnic principle was used after the First and Second World Wars to fix the administrative borders in the two "marginal" sections of the current Slovene-Croatian border, those in Istria and along the Mura river (Bufon, 1994d). The transformation of this long-lasting internal border into an international one has brought a number of problems regarding the rationalisation of the boundary line, based mainly on hydrographic lines, which have changed due to regulations, or on the land registers boundaries that originate from the feudal period. But it was the question of the new maritime border in the gulf of Piran that has generated great debates (Gosar and Klemenčič, 1994). The border, however, has not only divided the Slovenian-Croatian border areas in the political sense, but also in the psychological, and at the communication level. The events in former Yugosla-

via have played an important role in this sense, too. Since 1991, 26 border passes have been opened, and 10 of them are international. The density of border passes is higher in the eastern part where the density of population is greater. If compared with 1985, the cross-border traffic has decreased by more than 60% since 1991 (Černe, Pelc, 1993), and has negatively influenced the local population, who has interrupted the former cross-border links. Therefore, it is quite urgent that the two countries solve their mutual border questions as soon as possible and find an agreement on the local traffic, similar to that which rules the Slovenian-Austrian and Slovenian-Italian border areas.

A more recent analysis of the Slovenian-Croatian border areas and its geographic feature (Repolusk, 1999) showed that in the period 1971-1991 only in the western sector of Istra was there a demographic increase on both sides of the border, whereas the central and eastern Croatian sector of this region suffered a slight to considerable demographic decrease. A survey conducted among the people in the border areas showed that it was quite common to work on the other side of the border. Cross-border commuters were present before 1991 in about 30% families on the Slovene side, and in about 70% families on the Croatian side, whilst after 1991 this phenomenon involved only 13% families in Slovenia and about 30% families in Croatia. About 15% of the interviewed in Slovenia have members of their family living across the border and 65% of them have there relatives too. These percentages are even higher on the Croatian side: about 25% of the interviewed have family members, and 65% relatives in Slovenia. The reasons for visiting the neighbouring area include visiting relatives and friends on the Slovenian side (about 45% of the motivations listed), whilst on the Croatian side the most cited motivation is shopping (about 45%); about 55% of the Slovenians visits the neighbouring area at least once a month, 30% of them at least weekly. The frequency of cross-border visits on the Croatian side is significantly higher: 85% of the interviewed visit Slovenia at least once a month, and 60% of them at least weekly. The Slovenian-Croatian border areas is also the Slovenian border area where the good command of the neighbouring language enables the largest cross-border broadcasting (Medica, 1999). In the Slovenian area, in fact, 50% of the families watches regularly to often Croatian programmes, and 55% of the Croatian families watches Slovenian programmes with the same frequency. One fifth of Slovenian families regularly to often read Croatian newspapers; whilst Slovenian newspapers are read by one third of the Croatian families. Although the above data have not been clustered according to different sectors of the Slovenian-Croatian border, it seems that the intensity of cross-border contacts is higher in the eastern part, where we find a larger number of people, who have property in both states

(Belec, 1993). Some differences between individual sections of the Slovenian-Croatian borderland have been detected in another recent survey, which refers to the Slovene side only (Ravbar et al., 1999). According to this survey, 50% to 60% of the interviewed in the Istrian border area have relatives on the Croatian side, but only 4% of them are employed there (before 1991 this percentage was 10%). About one fourth crosses the border monthly or weekly, and the most common reasons are visiting relatives or friends, and recreation. The intensity of cross-border contacts for the same reasons is higher in the central and eastern part of the Slovenian-Croatian border, where 40% of the interviewed cross the border at least once a month or more times. Homoethnic relationships are again very high, as intensity of cross-border contacts among Croats who live in Slovenia is four times higher than among Slovenians.

Conclusions

It is quite clear that the development of border areas depends on a number of factors. These include different geopolitical situations and different historical experiences of each border section; the nature of political and economic relationships between bordering states; the extent of border permeability; regional conditions, the dynamics of social-economic development in the border area, and the attitude of the population towards the maintenance and development of cross-border links. It is possible to categorise different borderland types according to the number of border posts, frequency of cross-border movements, their functional motivations, and other factors. The surveys carried out in Slovenia so far show that the combination of international factors, such as the increase of economic exchange, tourist fluxes and transitory traffic, and regional factors, that are prevalently linked to the movement of people, goods, and communication within the border area, creates a more complete development, involving not only the traffic corridors and the border centres, but also wider border areas. In this way some border areas along the Slovenian borders have already become real border regions, although they do not have an institutional basis. In contrast to other Euroregions, they are based on spontaneous cross-border links, that involve smaller territories (Bufon, 1998b). Their common feature is the great influence of local factors, which derive from common territorial bonds, and not from momentary international-political and economic demands. Slovenian geography has developed new surveying techniques within social-geographic methodology, particularly in the study of the spatial functions of ethnic and regional communities in borderlands. The contribution of the Slovenian geography has been thus relevant in discovering the extent of spatially relevant social cross-border activities, and the spatial functions of border social

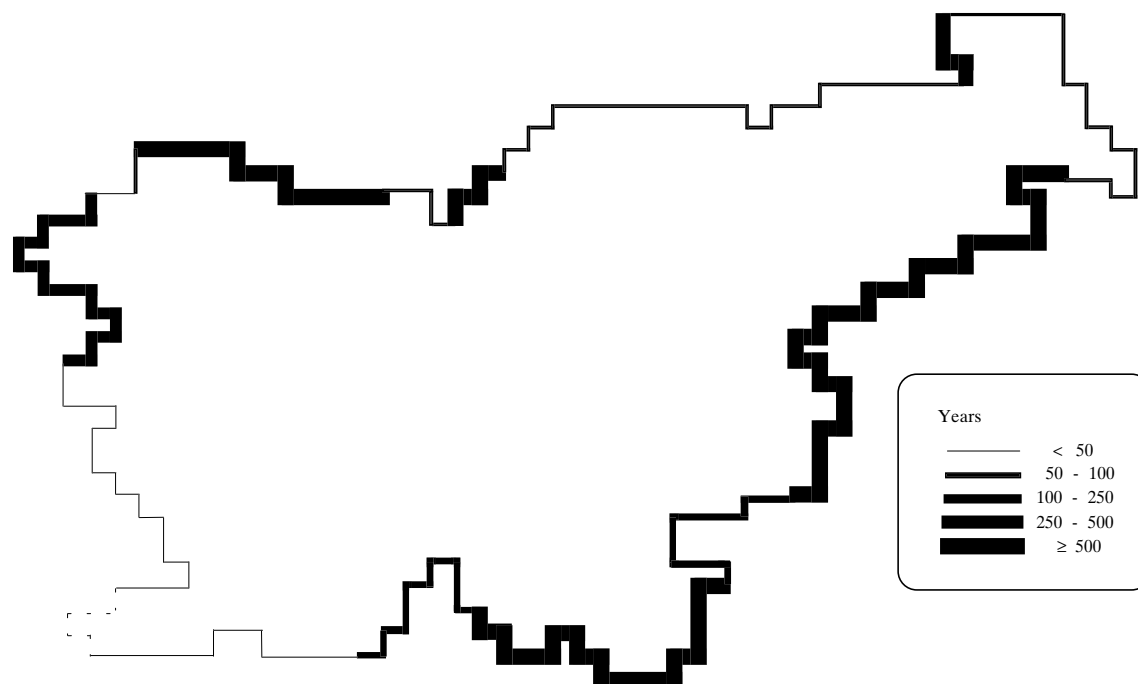


Fig. 1: Duration of the current Slovenian political borders (graphic: N. Bogatec, 1995).

Sl. 1: Obstoječnost trenutne Slovenske politične meje (graf: N. Bogatec, 1995).

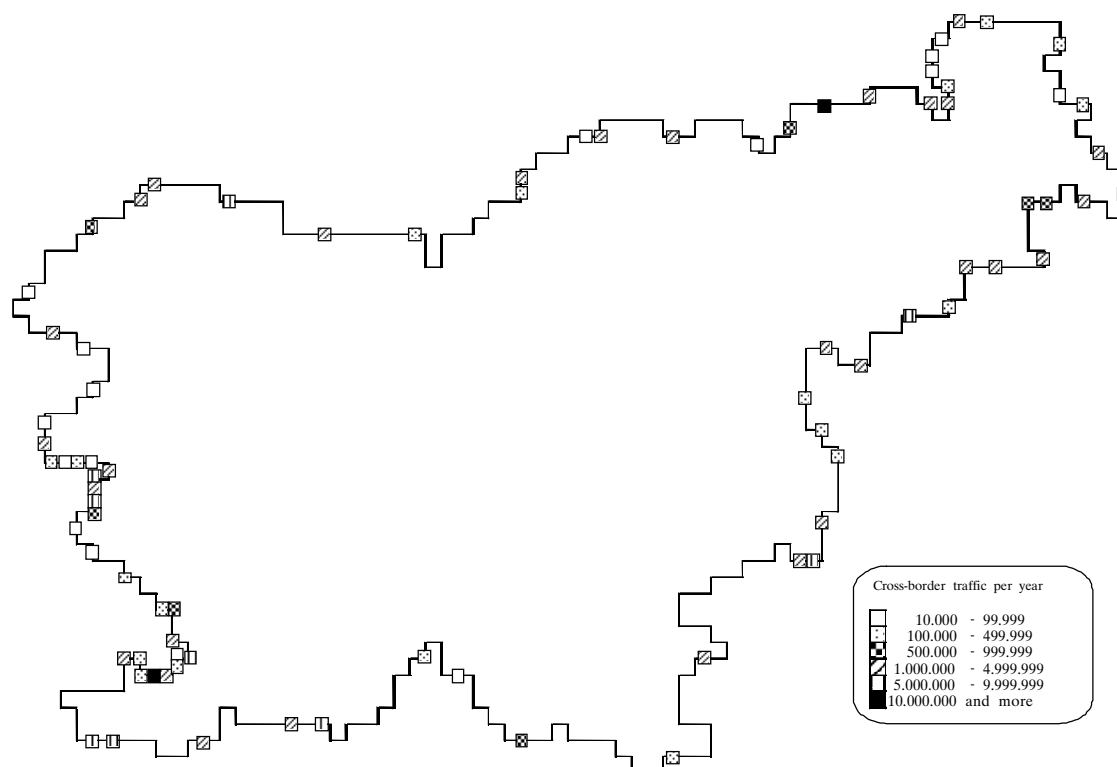


Fig. 2: The structure of road border crossings in 2000 according to cross-border traffic (graphic: N. Bogatec, 1995).

Sl. 2: Prepustnost trenutne Slovenske politične meje (graf: N. Bogatec, 1995).

communities in individual border areas (Klemenčič, Bufon, 1994; Bufon, 1993c; 1996c; 1997b). It has emphasized the importance of border areas and cross-border relationships within them, not only for the development of social and economic integration on the international and interregional level, but also for the maintenance of cultural peculiarities, and for the development of multiethnic coexistence practices and inter-cultural links. This feature of the border areas is present especially in those areas where there are national minorities, and this is a normal condition, rather than an exception, for many European borderlands. On this basis, there is an evident predisposition towards stronger cross-border integration in all those Slovenian border areas, where autochthonous minorities or immigrant communities live, at least on one side of the border. However, this potential can be modified in a more or less effective way by different territorial and regional orientation of the border communities, which derive from the persistence and permeability of the border passes, the development and legal status of the minority group within a nation-state system (Bufon, 1999b; Steincke, Zupančič, 1995; Klemenčič, 1990; 1993b). All this shows a number of new aspects which have become more important for the process of European integration: the elimination of the traditional functions of political border and the improvement of mutual respect in a such a varied cultural space as Europe (Bufon, 2002).

The geography of border areas, due to its political, cultural, and social perspective, has gained an even more important role in the process of "humanising" the traditional geographic attitude towards political, cultural, and social borders (Bufon, 1992b; 1996d). Beside the "macro" cross border transactions within border

communities, "micro" transactions have become more important in the everyday life of local border populations and have helped to overcome conflicts and create harmonic border systems (Minghi, 1991; Bufon, Minghi, 2000). Since many social and economic "micro" transactions are linked, in fact, to cultural relationships among the local border population, relationships which remain quite stable in spite of political transformation, a paradoxical situation seems to occur: border areas which have deeply suffered from being divided, appear now to have the best opportunities to develop into an integrated border region again (Bufon, 2000b). These are, however, only starting points that have to be pushed further: the territorial behaviour of local and regional communities along the borders has to be studied as well as their cultural and spatial identities. As well as analysing those areas well interconnected for functional reasons, it is also necessary to establish the reasons for lower levels of integration in others; surveying methods have to be systemized on either side of the longest and most new border with Croatia, as well as on other border sections; the ratio between the spatial and social situation along internal and political Slovenian borders has to be checked; moreover the role of Slovenia as a borderland between the EU and the Balkans, both from the point of view of its economic and political integration, and the consequences for its internal regional development, must be analysed. Considering its dimension and the above mentioned aspects, Slovenia seems to be a handy "laboratory" for studying border phenomena, border relationships, and cross-border integration in a situation where cultural peculiarities are maintained, and which continue to influence "new" and "old" border areas of Central Europe.

SLOVENIJA – EVROPSKI KONTAKTNI IN MEJNI PROSTOR

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POVZETEK

V članku so najprej predstavljene glavne teme avtorjevega raziskovalnega interesa pri proučevanju konvergentnih in divergentnih procesov v evropskih kontaktnih prostorih na primeru Slovenije. Opredeljene so socialno-geografske metode proučevanja manjšinskih skupnosti ter procesov družbene modernizacije, ki vodijo v oblikovanje sodobnega interetničnega kontinuuma, hkrati pa sodobne vloge manjšinskih in lokalnih skupnosti v pogledu družbene in prostorske integracije kontaktnih območij ter prehoda od potencialno konfliktnih v koeksistenčne oblike medetničnega in čezmejnega povezovanja. Proučevanje območij družbenega stika je še posebej pomembno v času evropskega povezovanja in odpravljanja učinkov pregrade političnih meja, ko je treba poskrbeti za učinkovitejše upravljanje mejnih oziroma kontaktnih prostorov in v njih preveriti dinamiko, učinke in možnosti družbene integracije ter uveljavljanja nove evropske paradigme "združenosti v različnosti". V nadaljevanju je obširneje prikazan primer Slovenije kot enega izmed najbolj izrazitih kontaktnih območij v Evropi. Podrobneje so prediskutirani ele-

menti naravnega, kulturnega in družbenega stika na območju Slovenije in slovenskega etničnega prostora, politično-geografski in geopolitični faktorji transformacije družbenega prostora, proces oblikovanja političnih meja na območju Slovenije ter lastnosti posameznih mejnih odsekov. Prispevek končno obravnava sedanji obmejni status Slovenije, vzroke in elemente čezmejne soodvisnosti slovenskih obmejnih območij ter medsebojno povezanost družbeno-kulturnih podlag čezmejne povezanosti s funkcionalnimi motivi čezmejnega sodelovanja, ki jih je avtor posebej utemeljil in poglobil na primeru slovensko-italijanskega obmejnega območja in na tej osnovi razvil posebno metodologijo proučevanja evropskih obmejnih in etnično mešanih območij. V zaključku se poudarja pomen proučevanja kontaktnih prostorov v Sloveniji, ki sodi med najbolj primerne "laboratorije" za razumevanje učinkov historičnih in modernih političnih meja na evropskem kontinentu, kakor tudi procesov evropske integracije na kulturno, družbeno in prostorsko strukturo stičnih območij.

Ključne besede: politična geografija, kontektni prostori, Slovenija, manjšine, politične meje, čezmejni kontakti

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Sašo Pogljajen

Annual meeting of the association "Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology" (CAA 2002): THE DIGITAL HERITAGE OF ARCHAEOLOGY. Heraklion, Crete, Greece, 2th- 6th April 2002

This year's thirtieth consecutive annual meeting of the association "Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology" took place in Heraklion, a picturesque historical port and economic center of Crete. Crete is known as a cradle of Mediterranean civilization with its Minoan culture and is also a popular tourist spot. The "FORTH Institute of Computer Science" and the "FORTH Institute of Mediterranean Studies" organized this year's conference. Dictated by tradition, the meeting continued for five days, with over 200 participants from all over the world. The Slovenian participants included the author of this paper and a colleague from SASA (Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts).

In this report I will present the program of the CAA 2002 conference and try to explain the current issues of modern technologies in archaeology, digitally supported archaeological methods and the influence of information technology in archaeology and in the archaeological cultural heritage.

The first day of the conference was devoted to registration and four workshops: (1) Scientific Credibility and Authentication in Cultural Virtual Reality, (2) the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model as a Tool for Integrating Cultural Information, (3) Selecting Material for Digitization and Evaluating the Digital Products and (4) Managing Stratigraphy, the Integration of Stratigraphic Database and Graphical Information from Excavation. The opening ceremony took place the next morning. The president of the CAA association, Nick Ryan, the conference organizers and politicians all greeted the guests. This was followed by a lecture given by Jean-Claude Gardina and titled *"Archaeological Discourse, Conceptual Modeling and Digitalization"*. The author presented the realistic problem of disseminating scientific ideas. The fact is that the increasing numbers of scientists produce an increasing number of articles that, due to the time limits of individual colleagues, remain a cause of their own. He proposed guidelines for development of a method of writing, which would facilitate swifter absorption of the essence of individual articles. This was followed by the usual three-day conference program that, apart from the aforementioned workshops involved three topical groups: (1) Secondary Knowledge Generation / Computer Supported Reasoning, (2) Spatial Information Acquisition and Evaluation and (3) Management of the Digital Heritage. The sections took place simultaneously, for which reason we had to plan our attendance to the lectures. Attending these presentations in

separate auditoriums was thus conditioned by an adjusted rhythm of commuting among authors. During the breaks we had the opportunity to study the 21 posters, which we could also directly discuss with their authors.

Noteworthy from among the workshops was that of Maria Economou (University of Manchester, UK), who very precisely analyzed and explained all the phases of the process of preparing and producing the digital archives for various needs. The questions concerning selection of the material, financing, the clients or users demands, evaluation of the results, are only a few of those which we must consider in order to create a successful and usable product. Naturally, the main indicator of success is ultimately the user from whom we need feedback information. The fourth workshop lead by Dominic Powlesland (The Landscape research center, UK) was also very interesting. It presented an innovative software tool for interactive management and selection of document archives. The skeleton of the system is a stratigraphic matrix with added spatial and time components to which all the other data acquired during excavation is attached. Parallel with the tabular view of the matrix and other data the graphic part also draws out the desired objects. With his detailed presentation of a wholly innovative product, the author gave a relaxed and witty presentation of the question of archaeological methodology, spiced with a good measure of British humor. By far the best lecture of the conference.

The themes presented in the first section were fairly diverse. They could be divided into the following groups – with the greatest emphasis on various applications of virtual reality. Peter Jablonka (Universität Tübingen, Germany) presented an impressive work of a reconstructed Troy through all the time horizons, supported by plans, photographs of the findings and the possibilities of manipulating in real time. In addition to this presentation, Mr. Jablonka also gave a lecture titled *"How Virtual Dreams Can Become Archaeological Reality"*. He expounded the stages and experience of the progress of this extensive work done by archaeologists supported by computer specialists. The new program language X3D, which is supposed to substitute VRML in 3D modeling for networks was presented by Francesca Cantone (Naples University 'Federico II') and Franco Niccolucci (Florence University). The tools were elucidated on the case of Porsenna's mausoleum known from Pliny's descriptions. The language is supposed to provide easier connections between the network, 3D models and the databases. We were given a presentation of upgraded archaeological geographic information systems (GIS) in 3D virtual models in the case of the surroundings and urbane Bologna, and a research of various Greek cities with the help of 3D GIS tools. We also saw the use of virtual reality as a teaching tool and a medium for preserving destroyed complexes. The authors Florin Stanescu (University of Sibiu, Romania) and Marius Ci-

uta (University "1 Decembrie 1918", Romania) presented a work method and recent results in the project of reconstructing the ancient town *Colonia Augusta Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. In addition to the virtual reality were also papers regarding the application of GIS tools. A most interesting example was the project of Eleni Mantzourani (University of Athens) and colleagues. Their analysis is based on fuzzy logic, by which they predict new archaeological locations on an island of the western Cyclades. Further, we saw some practical solutions to archaeological documentation (Juan Barcelo, Universitat Autònoma Barcelona). Damien Green (Brunel University) presented an innovative tool for 3D reconstruction of structures during archaeological excavations. The author is originally a computer scientist and was somewhat critical of classic archaeological documentation. And finally, I must mention the papers concerning analysis of artifact collections. The emphasis was mainly on classifying ceramic material.

The second section was also quite broadly set. The common denominator was acquiring and manipulating spatial data by satellite identification, aerial photography, cartography, terrestrial measurement, geophysical measurement and excavation. The data was then more or less successfully integrated in GIS and analyzed. Remote identification is still used for reconstructing landscapes connected to actual archaeological contexts (e.g. K. Lambers et al, Institut fuer Geodäsie und Photogrammetrie, Switzerland or M. Forte et al, Istituto Universitario Orientale). Some projects of visualizing geophysical measurements in GIS were presented (e.g. A. Sarris et al, Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Crete). Dana Jensen of Stanford University presented a good study of transhumance in northern Chile with the help of an accomplished algorithm, geoglyphs and GIS. It proved that we might achieve exceptional results with relatively simple tools, but a correct approach. The Polish method of surveying the route of the future motorway was presented by Agnieszka Dolatowska (Adam Mickiewicz University) together with Andrzej Prinke (Poznan Archaeological Museum). The pilot project of the future 2500 km motorway was based on aerial photography from helicopters. The potential locations are first recorded and the "foundations" are set for later excavation.

The last of the conference sections was the most topically homogenous. It was devoted to presenting and discussing the solutions and questions of establishing, preserving, manipulating and subsequently using the digital heritage. Some of the contributions explained methods of presenting various archaeological data and information on the global network (e.g. K. Fernie, University of York et al). The task demands profound knowledge of archaeological objects and knowledge of the properties and capacities of modern information technology. An imperative through all the various pres-

entations was the need for systemization and standardization. Philip Carslile (National Monuments Records Centre, UK) pointed out the issue of naming periods. It is a known fact that the geographic position often determines the time span. Thus the Roman period is differently understood in Italy as opposed to in Britain.

This year's conference again showed that the trend in computer and quantitative methods in archaeology is to make the best possible use of information technologies for solving archaeological problems on various levels. GIS have been fairly adopted by archaeologists and their use has become a prerogative for studying spatial relations in regions as well as at individual sites. This year there were fewer papers on the topic of documenting archaeological excavations. The emphasis, as indicated in the conference's title, was more on archiving and the visualization of archaeological heritage.

And finally I would like to mention that in addition to the formal part of the conference we had a rich social program. Such meetings are also necessary for establishing new connections in a relaxed atmosphere.

The last day we had a session of CAA members at which we approved the candidature of Florence for organizing the upcoming conference in 2004. The organizers of the next meeting, which is scheduled to take place in Vienna between 8. – 12. April 2003, presented the progress of their preparations (further information can be obtained at <http://www.archaeologie-wien.at/caa2003/caa2003.htm>).

Claudio Povolo

Announcement of the international scientific conference: *THE VICTIM IN THE SCENE OF THE CRIMINAL TRIAL*. From victimless crimes to the appearance of the victim in the social and political debate. Koper, October, 2003

In October 2003 the international scientific conference *"THE VICTIM IN THE SCENE OF THE CRIMINAL TRIAL: From victimless crimes to the appearance of the victim in the social and political debate"* will take place in Koper (The Republic of Slovenia). At the conference, organized by the Scientific and Research Center of the Republic of Slovenia, Koper, the Faculty of Humanities Koper, the Historical Society of Primorska, Koper and the Department of History of the University of Venice, scientists with different disciplinary backgrounds dealing with the main conference topic will participate. However, the professionals, from Slovenia, Italy, Croatia, United States, Spain, Austria etc participating at the international meeting, will put a special emphasize on the history as well as on the current and actual events

dealing with the broad and complex issue of trials. In this regard, the last ten years of Balkan conflicts, and the current events in Afghanistan, Iraq and in the Middle East are of especial interest. In the following part we shall introduce the main conference headwords and the complex nature of the dealing with this topic.

The history of the criminal trial can be defined as the history of a perpetually and variously repeated tragedy whose characters played and still play a role that is constantly modified under the push of various causes. This kind of history is obviously connected to the broader history of crime and criminal justice and to the criteria of punishment expected and accepted by society. Various studies and interpreted by historians of law and scholars of social sciences, attention has mainly focused on those protagonists who better lent themselves to point out the close relationships between legal institutions, developed in order to define and repress the crime, and society at large.

From this perspective, the figure of the accused has been placed at the center of social and political interrelations that have been realized in some important topics for the history of crime and of criminal justice. The relationships between judge and accused, between inquisitorial procedures and procedures based on testimony, between system of legal proofs and discretionary power of the judge, have become preferred fields of research, leaving behind other protagonists and themes.

The choice to focus on the victim is not only related to the previous observations, but also to the fact that, paradoxically, it was the very absence of the essential role of the victim the defining characteristic of many crimes in the past. The victim was absent or played a quite marginal role and remained in the background as the inquisitorial procedure appeared in the classical legal debate.

Preliminarily, it is necessary to consider that in almost all criminal cases – also in those where the victim is recognizable and active – it is society, first and foremost, that acts as victim and arranges (in terms of organization and costs) repressive and preventive measures toward behaviors defined *a priori* as forbidden by law. The classic distinction between civil and criminal law (even if it has been ambiguous for many centuries) prevents us from seeing the freedom of initiative that a person had to call for proceedings intended to solve a personal injury committed by others.

In the late Middle Ages, the inception of inquisitorial proceedings made the roles of the judge and the trial apparatus rise to prominence, by eroding both the importance of the legal cross-examination and the profile of the victim. The plaintiff was quickly supplanted by the *ex-officio* initiative performed by the judge according to the social and political importance of the committed crime.

The evolution of the European criminal trial (except

for England) led to the creation of public officials (such as in France or in Venice) entrusted to defend considerable interests of the state. A wide range of crimes, which sociologists defined as victimless crimes, developed along with these transformations.

In a society where the law of men was so closely intertwined with the law of God, the distinction between crime and sin was often vague, not only because it was hard to distinguish them in the culture of the time, but also because the secular justice set itself as defender of religion. First and foremost, among victimless crimes, one recognizes that those crimes prosecuted by clerical and secular courts, directly threatened the fundamental values of a particular society (crimes such as witchcraft, heresy, blasphemy, or bigamy).

These crimes were perceived particularly dangerous toward society and their condemnation presupposed the defense of the specific interests of predominant groups whose characteristics were strongly theocratic. This was also the case in American colonies, whereas in Europe, the predominant groups were characterized by the alliance between throne and altar.

This process lasted for a long time even if, in the early modern age, it was seriously challenged by the emergence of secular power that challenged the ecclesiastical direction of fundamental ideological values of society. That is why some differences were singled out within the crimes with profound religious connotations; these differences undermined the ideological foundation that so narrowly bound the crime to sin. For example, in Venice during the first part of the sixteenth century, a distinction was made between heretical and non-heretical swearwords. The latter were put under the jurisdiction of a new magistracy, the *Esecutori contro la Bestemmia* (literally, judges against blasphemy).

Ed Muir, Darko Darovec and Claudio Povolo to chair a international meeting The language of violence, Koper 11th-13th October 2001.

Ed Muir, Darko Darovec in Claudio Povolo v predsedstvu mednarodne konference Govorica nasilja, Koper, 11.-13. 10. 2001.

These kinds of crimes had strong symbolic values since they threatened social stability and, indirectly, the order of power. The punishments for these crimes were severe penalties that were carried out according to public rituals in order to describe the identity of the guilty party in an infamous way. In all these cases, the law and the concrete judiciary proceedings toward the accused tended not only to define the boundary between Good and Evil, between allowable and illicit, but also and above all, to draw the insuperable limit past which a man could not cross without arousing divine anger directed at the whole.

Obviously, the definition of these crimes and particularly their actual repression reflected not only the cultural and religious values of the time (hence the close correlation between crime and sin), but also represented a type of ideological barrier that had been raised by dominant classes in defense of a system based on the strict connection of status honor, and wealth.

The inquisitorial proceedings were the most effective way to connect a wide range of crimes, – in which the victim was identified with superior or supernatural entities – with society as a whole, itself not always clearly in agreement with religious and political precepts. This becomes even more significant if we consider the input of the victim, or the kind of trust and legitimacy enjoyed by rulers among the ruled. These factors considerably characterized the effectiveness and impact of law.

The relationship between an economically stable society and marginal groups played an important role in victimless crimes.

Many crimes against morals and religion fell under the category of 'victimless crimes'; among them, were also many sexual crimes. This was due not only to the strict connection between morals and allowable sexual behaviors, that exists in any age; this also depended on the fact that many crimes can be considered 'victimless' because the victim consents, more or less, and both victim and accused are (guilty or innocent).

Fornication, prostitution, and sodomy were offenses against the dominant sexual morals, but the victim's complicity in them is often recognizable. Some crimes, such as sodomy, were defined by sixteenth-century criminalists as crimes *a prova difficile* (difficult to prove) because they were committed in the most absolute secrecy. The theme of the victim's complicity can obviously be extended to other types of crimes. It had greater importance for those who defended cultural and ideological values thereby they criminalized certain acts. As we shall see, the problems that are related to a victim's alleged complicity can be extended to many other crimes.

The relation among dominant sexual morals, victimless crimes, and the social sensibility shown toward them, is the most relevant theme of this conference that focuses on the figure of the victim. However, the above-

mentioned relationship presents and brings forward the considerable problems of the social and legal transformations that the victimless crimes underwent over time. We also note that they reflect the deepest changes within society as a whole.

It is indubitable that many of the victimless crimes, characterized by the strict relation between crime and sin, began to decline during the eighteenth century, as Lawrence Friedman has pointed out for the United States. As the American scholar remarked, the decline of the crimes with a religious or moral connotation is associated to the stricter self-control that society expected from individuals. Society punished extreme deviance, if it was openly expressed, but it became much more tolerant toward unlawful behaviors that were not openly committed. This was a form of hypocrisy that marked a significant step toward the definitive split between crime and sin. Moral law had begun to lose its absolute value. This phenomenon can be also traced in European society during the eighteenth century. It was due to the growth of urban centers and to economic changes that assigned a greater importance to private property. Moreover, it was associated with the fading of a society based on distinctions of status and values connected with honor and social precedence. These changes were to make crimes better defined and conventional.

Probably, due to these specific transformations, the persistence of other victimless crimes such as drunkenness or gambling was justified. The first was a symptom of individual dissoluteness, whereas the second threatened family property. Nineteenth-century society, once released from the strict relationship between crime and sin, was to create the necessary premises to define new victimless crimes, for instance all crimes that threatened the integrity of the State or the dignity of its representatives or symbols.

Paradoxically, other victimless crimes – such as the crime of seduction, which was also called *voluntary rape* – were to be subject to important changes. In the Middle Ages, seduction was a crime in which the consenting woman was seen as a victim; during the Early Modern Age, it began to be reduced to a disapproved social behavior or to be subject to subtle distinctions. During the nineteenth century, for instance, most Codes included the prohibition of the inquiry about paternity.

A society based on lineage and kinship was the unspecified victim in the seduction offence – as well as in the voluntary abduction – but was obviously in a position to make its own reasons heard. This kind of society was very sensitive to any attack or threat toward groups whose power depended upon marriage alliances and transmissions of property that were judicially well defined.

An unspecified or consenting victim (and accomplice, as we shall see) connotes victimless crimes. Some offenses, in which a victim is identifiable, can also be

included in the examined sociological category. Infanticide can be certainly placed in the sociological category of victimless crimes, at least until the beginning of Early Modern Age. Juridical treatises defined this offense as parricide, because killing an infant was considered damage to the *pater familias*, who held authority over the lineage. In this case, the victim was evanescent and its juridical prevision was only justified within a society characterized by extended and pyramidal kinship structures. When the newborn became a juridical subject (rights holder), this offense took a more conventional form. However, its subsequent inclusion within the offenses against honor presupposes a certain indirect responsibility of the victim and still the presence of very strong kinship structures.

Paradoxically, adultery is similar to victimless crimes and this depends not only on its strict relationship between crime and sin. Although it was defined as a private crime in which it was one of the few crimes where the victim had the discretionary power to sue, the adultery offense could hardly be elaborated in an accomplished juridical and jurisprudential formulation because of the inevitable repercussions on the patrimonial level. On the social level, adultery – as a result of a complex ideology of honor – stirred the condemnation of the one who was regarded as the victim by the law. The man who suffered adultery (not the one who committed it) was subject to the disapproval and retorts of the community. Society considered him responsible for what happened and for his inability to defend the honor of his family.

Over time, the line that divided the victimless crimes from the conventional ones became indistinct. As we have already examined, many behaviors – that for centuries had been censured as prejudicial to the morals or the divine law – eluded legal control and fell again under the control of the conscience and the personal sphere. Furthermore, justice and the State apparatus experienced profound transformations. The consolidation of State authority and bureaucratic magistracies also affected the structure of the trial and the relationship between society and administration of justice. This phenomenon has been well examined by the American scholar Malcolm Feeley who has associated it with the decline of the female criminality from the eighteenth until the twentieth century.

During the nineteenth and the first half of twentieth centuries (that we can define as an age of transition), the theme of the victim and victimless crimes reveals a clear distinction between crime and sin and, above all, defines crimes of economic nature. No longer bound by the definition of status and juridical privilege, the figure of the victim was delineated in all its complexity against the background of bourgeois society. This was the time of clamorous trials and of the appearance of criminal themes in literature and public opinion. Newspapers

began to show an interest in and followed juridical cases. For the first time, the relationship between the mass media and the legal sphere took shape in a more significant way; later, it had a decisive importance for the characterization of the victims.

At that time, the state authority exerted the maximum level of influence of its apparatus and ideology, too. The justice administration, an instrument of control and social stability, deeply affected the definition of the characters of the trials. The controversial and contradictory relationship between victim and accused was solved in an almost univocal way, done in order to negatively characterize the violation of the norm and the system of values defended by that norm.

As Dennis Chapman has brilliantly described, the stereotype of the criminal illustrates, as a matter of fact, a one-way relationship between accused and victim. The latter is described as unaware of the intention of the accused and generally available to collaborate with police and magistracy. Even when the victim has contributed to the execution of the crime, this element is considered as an extenuating circumstance for the accused rather than as an act worthy of public condemnation of the victim.

As it has been demonstrated, the victim often plays a crucial role in the occurrence of both common and serious offenses, such as murder, larceny, and rape. In some intense interpersonal relationships, such as in certain types of brawls, fate only decides who is the victim and who is the criminal. It is often possible to find a sort of responsibility or complicity in the behavior of the victim.

The victim's active role is mostly considered an extenuating circumstance for the accused who is subject to the criteria that define the stereotype of the criminal. As Chapman maintained, the victim's role becomes a fundamental instrument used to understand the dynamics that animate a determined system. The predominant group "is able to change the definition of several situations. The crime can become a valuable act and the criminals can become heroes ... Collective conscience becomes the product of political control, rather than its origin."

The transformations that have marked society and its institutions, since the last decades of the twentieth century, have rendered much more complicated the political and social situation in which the English scholar made his observations. It is not fortuitous that today many scholars point out the controversial relationship – in all European states – between the expansion of criminal justice and the appearance of the victim, as protagonist, on the scene of the criminal trial. The appearance of the victim in the criminal trial occurred simultaneously with the widening of the power to accuse. Everywhere, the magistracy has increased its political role and criminal law has become a real instrument for the

regulation of society. In societies that are organized on a democratic basis and that are very sensitive to the changes in public opinion, mass media have amplified the so-called silent revolution. The State monopoly over criminal justice has been subject to marked erosion under the needs and pressures coming from society.

The trial has lost its old balancing function of restoration of the broken order. The pressure of victims' associations has weakened many areas of the economical and political world that enjoyed wide margins of impunity. The victims' need for justice, supported by the more effective role of the magistracy (less bound to political power), caused a redefinition of the functions of the criminal trial. The theme of criminal responsibility, so important for the jurists of the past, has been supplanted by the necessity to convict at any cost.

In fact, according to this new concept of justice, the victim expects from criminal law an instrument of simplification and conviction a priori. These expectations are often met by the opportunistic help of mass media. As a consequence, the public declaration of blame replaces the verification of that blame. The threshold of deviancy has become lower and at the same time the borderline between normality and deviance has become more indistinct.

In a way, the appearance of the victim in the criminal trial is the final point of a journey that initially gave the victim an indistinct and seemingly non-relevant role. If the rise of the States had underscored the role of victimless crimes, present democracies have amplified the ideological dimension of the victim. Research that centers on the victim's figure and role on the scene of the criminal trial holds much promise for the investigation of themes and problems of broader social and political dimensions.

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Francis Tassaux – Robert Matijašić – Vladimir Kovačić (eds.): LORON (CROATIE). UN GRAND CENTRE DE PRODUCTION D'AMPHORES À HUILE ISTRIENNES, 1^{ER}-IV^E S. P.C. Mémoires, 6. Bordeaux, Editions Ausonius, 2001, pp. 366

The library of the Istran Peninsula (in Northern Adriatic) has acquired an excellent new monograph from the international team working on the *Istran oil* project. This provides the book's contents with a frame for the much broader spheres of interest of numerous collaborators, particularly the three presented as editors, who are also the co-authors of separate contributions about Loron,¹ the Roman site along the sea north of Poreč (*Parentium*).

The research history, the geographical locus and geological past of the site (particularly the rising sea surface over the last two millennia), the description of work carried out by the mixed international team, the epigraphic analysis of monuments from the near vicinity, the description of fine material-especially earthen artifacts from a Loron kiln and a series of stamps, the analyses of remains of animal bones and of mollusks, are just some of the subjects discussed. The book is divided into 4 parts by its editors: *The geographical and historical context*, *Excavations at Loron in 1994-1998*, *Small finds*, and *The contribution of excavations*. Of particular value are the systematically stated conclusions in Part 4, most notably the comparison of archaeological and historical sources.

In the introduction, É. Fouache presents Istra from the geographical and geological aspects and dedicates himself to the Loron site's surroundings. The most original contribution in this respect is the careful observation of minor phenomena in the narrowest coastal belt of the studied area, where he succeeded in distinguishing some ancient erosions on the rocks and the piers from more recent activities, and was thus able to estimate the increase in the sea-level over the last 2000 years. In contrast to previously held notions, this change has been relatively slight, from 0.7 to 1.2 m. The research history is described by R. Matijašić. Early writers conspicuously fail to mention this site, referring only to finds from nearby places (Červar, Vabriga, Tar, Frata). Interest in the finds from Loron grew only thanks to the activities of the Trieste antiquarians, especially P. Kandler in the mid-19th century. Particularly interesting at that time were inscriptions, including stamps on bricks and amphorae. The finds and the site have been described by a number of archaeologists (Th. Mommsen, C. Gregorutti, A. Gnirs, and, most recently, by A. Degrassi). The opinion has come to the fore that private kilns fell into the hands of emperors. The most important amongst the private owners was said to be Calvia Crispinilla while the most significant economic activity at that time was olive

¹ Lately, the name "Lorun" has been increasingly used in Croatia.

oil production and export. Particularly important in the first part of the book is F. Tassaux's analysis of the numerous testimonial epigraphic monuments from the site's vicinity. The introductory chapters are supplemented by R. Matijašić with a survey of the prehistoric remains from the coast, hillforts and caves, and a survey of stamps on Loron bricks.

Placing the Loron site into the broader Istran and Mediterranean framework, we cannot avoid comparing it with the Fažana-Brijuni complex: our Croatian and foreign colleagues succeeded in indicating economic and social lines of forces that shaped the image of the sites. The authors of the monograph, too, could not avoid certain comparisons. Of a special interest is the comparison of the development of the Dressel 6B amphora forms at Fažana and Loron, presented in the third part (*Small finds*) in an extensive article by Alka Starac. This part is quite comprehensive, for its contributions include not only a systematic survey of the finds, but with the aid of various maps indicate the orientation of various import and export trade routes – without leading the reader astray regarding local economic geography – and thus present an excellent supplement regarding the Istran economy in the first few centuries AD. The excavations were actually completed in 1998, but the materials were processed by the authors until 2000, which means that the latest foreign and domestic findings have been taken into account.

The researchers merely began to excavate the villa, which had stood on some 200 meters along the coast; its interior, therefore, remains to be researched. Special attention should be paid to the economical and manufacturing activities (especially artifacts like olive oil amphorae, sigillata in the times of Augustus and Tiberius, perhaps even the pottery of thin walls and bricks bearing the stamp of *Calvia Crispinilla*). In view of the retrieved smith's stele, it is clear that this trade was a significant element of this production center. The authors believe that due to the lack of clay locally, it was imported from the Mirna valley as well as from Dragonja and northern Istra. The export and import of these materials led to the establishment of a local emporium at Loron, north of Poreč. Various activities during the 1st and 2nd centuries are fairly explicit, while the ensuing period is still somewhat unclear; it is only during the 4th century that slight evidence of the export of Dressel 6B amphorae can be traced again.

The settlement at Loron was initially associated with the newly formed Poreč colony, notably with the centuriation of the Ager of Parentium. The first known significant Loron proprietor was *Sisenna Statilius Taurus*, the name that links Istran properties with the people from the immediate proximity of the imperial court in Rome. It appears that he died around 30 AD, between the ages of 55 and 60, and had therefore not enjoyed the *Pucinum* wine, which was supposed to provide for excellent

and lasting health, according to Fr. T. In addition to a number of other proprietors, the stamps then soon point to the decisive role of Calvia Crispinilla, producer of Istran olive oil and *magistra libidinum Neronis*. Some believe that she was from Tergeste, while F. Tassaux favours the possibility that she was native to the Poreč area. The bricks carrying her stamps are in any case not rare in northern Istra; her role in the newly discovered villa at Školarice by the Rižana river remains to be assessed. Around Domitian's time, her property fell into the emperor's hands.

In the end, the editors tackle the interesting topic of the site's future, which indicates their intention to devote further time and resources to the site. A careful and up-to-date bibliography has been added, though an index is lacking. In the text, the expression *esprit gaulois* stands out, a very rare phenomenon in scientific literature that we assume should be ascribed to Francis Tassaux. The texts are far from easy; let us add that the articles are written mainly in French and partially in Italian and that the book is furnished with a (too) short summary in Croatian. It appears that the Slovene language caused the authors some trouble.² For the northern part of Istra, production by local brick makers should be

² E.g., they wrote: "... numerose pedine sono state rinvenute anche a Jandarja in Slovenia ... (Bertoncelj-Kučar V. (1979), *Nakit iz stekla in Jandarja* (Glas- und Bernstein schmuck) ..."

evaluated anew (P. Ituri Sab., C. Lab. Sev., L. Q. Thal.), especially the role of Calvia Crispinilla: the brick stamps, too, will enable the dating of the extremely rich site excavated in 2002 at Školarice by the Rižana river and along the Flavian road, and of the equally rich site of Gradišče near Krkavče, along the same road. Is it possible that Vespasian's loot found its way to Istra as well?

Matej Župančič

César Carreras Monfort – Pedro Paulo A. Funari:
BRITANNIA Y EL MEDITERRÁNEO: ESTUDIOS
SOBRE EL ABASTECIMIENTO DE ACEITE BÉTICO
Y AFRICANO EN BRITANNIA. *Collectió Instrumenta*,
5. Barcelona, Publicacions Universidad de Barcelona,
1998, pp. 406, 76 graphs, maps and tables black
and white

The present work is the fruit of co-operation between the two authors, who have prepared individual monographs on the topic. P. Funari, lecturer at the state University of Campinas in Sao Paulo, Brazil, has dedicated the last 20 years to the research of amphorae Dressel 20 and the consumption of Spanish olives in the Roman

province of Britannia. His research was published as an independent work in the renowned *BAR Tempus Reparatum*, British Series 250, 1996. C. Carreras, assistant professor at the University of Southampton, has recently completed his doctoral studies; based on studies of amphoral materials found in Britain, he dealt with macro-economic and spatial analyses of long-distance trade. Both authors have published a number of short reports and articles about the import and consumption of Spanish olives and olive oil in Roman Britannia, and have offered numerous interpretations of the economy, commercial exchange and cultural factors in connection with the olive oil trade in that period.

First of all, their joint work includes a collection of amphorae stamps, graffiti and other inscriptions found on the analysed materials. As such, it allows a thorough insight into these archaeological sources up to the year 1994. The authors set themselves another, wider, goal: to present their findings in relation to the economics, dietary cultural background, semiotics, civil and military life, the adoption of Roman habits, as well as other aspects encountered during their thorough multi-layered study.

Archaeological evidence enabled the authors to present the complex activities of the commercial intercourse of the Roman Empire in the province of Britannia. Besides a narrow economic interpretation, other parameters were included. Their interest lay not only in commercial exchange, but also in the influence of various goods and relationships on the society, individuals, habits and purpose of exchange.

A remarkable exchange network knitted in a unique political entity that would only be suppressed by the advent of the late Middle Ages, resulted in thriving and complex commercial exchanges in the Roman Empire. It should be noted that remarkably intensive commercial intercourse was one of the foundations of the ancient economy and as such is actually the basis for the understanding of the latter. These are the reasons why a detailed research of material remains of ancient commerce is more than worthwhile. And by all means, its very important part is shards of amphorae used as transport vessels.

Unfortunately, few Roman economic documents such as invoices, receipts, and accountancy papers are known. Written documents that have been preserved are a rarity, which adds even more value to those found at the Roman military site of Vindolanda. However, other aspects of Roman economics need to be reconstructed on the basis of material remains and epigraphic fragments preserved in literary sources. As a consequence, material sources need to be subjected to extremely accurate processes of statistical calculations, measurements, comparisons and quantification, which to a certain extent enable the researcher to access the wider context. Despite the comprehensive work they

carried out, both authors are aware that neither the evidence and nor, consequently, the interpretation of the "crude" archaeological materials are exhaustive.

In this context, amphorae are by far the most appropriate means for the study of economic relations between long-distance places. As the northernmost part of the Roman Empire and at the same time a bordering territory with Hadrian's Wall, Britannia is more than a valuable source. The authors offered a comparison between civil and military areas of the province, which allows an insight into and understanding of two different Roman methods of supply. The first was left in the hands of private initiatives and was therefore subjected to the principles of supply and demand on the market. From the perspective of the entire Empire, Britannia was strategically an important territory, that is why the second method, on the other hand, was under strict state administration, supplying military bases systematically and in accordance with the principles of state subventions and supply.

The first chapter begins with an introductory study of the materials and includes a comprehensive description of production centres and distribution areas as well as morphological features of the Dressel 20, an amphora type used for carrying olive oil. Amphorae stamps and inscriptions are a very valuable source, hence they were analysed from the semiotic perspective, in this way upgrading palaeographic and iconographic records.

The treatise is based on a record of nearly 1,800 amphorae Dressel 20, used for the transport of oil from ancient Baetica, which were discovered in the territory of Britannia. The authors attempted to identify distinctive patterns between civil settlements and military territories, where different principles of distribution and commercial exchange applied. These are also different from patterns found in Germania and Gaul. A comparison between territories revealed two different distribution routes, the Atlantic and the Continental. This leads us to the question of the method of distribution: was it a private or public affair? According to which principle were the spheres of transport and distribution divided? *Tituli picti*, i.e. ink inscriptions on the surface of the vessel, which were used to mark the contents and customs controls, showed that oil transport to England was in the domain of several families and some commercial unions. However, a clear insight into the complex organisation of distribution is still hindered by scarce and insufficient records.

It is necessary to acknowledge that the main value of the present work lies in the economic, cultural and anthropological studies used to upgrade the collected archaeological materials. In fact, it was proved that the commercial network had not developed as a result of coincidence but as a complex public service supplying the military and probably administrative staff of the province with Spanish oil. Evidence of this fact is pro-

vided by the density of shards of these vessels in military camps and areas occupied by Roman garrisons. This fact is additionally supported by amphora stamp distribution that clearly identifies Roman troop movements in the province. Oil import from Spain endured until the end of the 3rd century when it was replaced by import from Africa. In addition to amphorae Dressel 20, for the transport of Spanish oil amphorae Dressel 23 would also be used.

Comparisons with other amphoral materials found in the territory of Britannia confirm the exceptional role of the Spanish oil imported in the amphorae Dressel 20, connected as well with deliveries of foodstuffs to military camps. The distribution of other types of foodstuffs, in most cases also defined on the basis of shards of vessels of other shapes, was following the rule of the market system. That is why it was conditioned by completely different principles and is therefore not comparable to those pertaining to the distribution of Spanish olive oil. The supply of military camps and administrative centres was within the competence of a special state institution, in ancient sources quoted as *annona* or *frumentatio*.

The authors attempted to confirm their theory by means of stamps and *tituli picti* compared to other amphora epigraphy found in the territory of Britannia. Tombstones, for instance, mention various administrative offices, such as *procuratores beneficiarii* and *stratores*, who were in charge of the distribution of alimentary products. These were involved in the organisation and control of the supply of alimentary products in provinces where military units were settled. Amphorae with oil brought into the province were most probably stored and distributed according to logistic and strategic principles. On the other hand, *tituli picti* bear witness to the fact that in some provinces transport was in the domain of certain families and commercial unions. A comparison with distribution patterns recorded in Germania indicates different principles valid in other territories of the Roman Empire. Probably, distribution was in the hands of small families and companies of merchants and transporters, who also controlled oil production in specific centres or regions of Spain.

However, new questions emerged with new findings. Spanish oil was obviously supplied to military bases and employees, the majority of whom were foreigners, mostly of Mediterranean origin. Olive oil distributed in such large quantities to the northernmost Roman province was almost certainly being used exclusively for food preparation and not for illumination. These areas had a number of alternative local fats to be used for this purpose and which represented an excellent and cheap substitute for expensive Spanish oil. That implies that olive oil consumption also defined the cultural identification of its users and bore more meaning than just economic luxury. It is obvious that in that period cultural habits were overgrowing the frames of economic

principles. With the organisation of supplies of olive oil from Spain, the Roman state administration was actively favouring the Mediterranean cultural identity of the state apparatus. In light of this fact, it must be considered that together with clothing, language and settlement patterns, eating habits represented a complex cultural demarcation line between the Roman and barbarian worlds. In this respect, olive oil consumption is a visible symbol of Romanisation, i.e. subordination of the latter.

Inscriptions on amphorae undoubtedly played an important role in political life, where illiteracy was considered to pertain to the barbarian world, sinking in strong gusts of Romanisation. The border between the two worlds ran along the thin demarcation line of literacy of the Roman administration staff and the Romanised Celtic population on one hand, and on the other hand the lower classes of the illiterate native population, in the political sense mostly representing third class peregrines. Together with oil consumption and Mediterranean eating habits, literacy, therefore, indicated an evident class division in the Roman Empire.

These facts proved that the olive oil trade by all means exceeded economic principles and market demand as viewed through the optics of today's capitalist society. Therefore, the authors unveiled a wide political and anthropological context, which in the Roman Empire was defined by olive oil. To a huge extent, this alimentary product, of course, surpassed the abstract function it has today.

The work is based on an extensive textual-critical apparatus, a comprehensive catalogue of stamps and numerous tables, statistical calculations, and graphs.

Due to courageous anthropological interpretations especially, the book is a great achievement, and a rise to a higher, more complex research level within the context of amphoral materials. The archaeological materials served solely as a tool for anthropological and cultural analyses and interpretations. Undoubtedly, this set new standards for future ceramological research.

Verena Perko

Paolo Naldini: CERKVENI KRAJEPIS ALI OPIS MESTA IN ŠKOFIJE JUSTINOPOLIS – LJUDSKO KOPER (Ecclesiastical Topography or a Description of the Town and Diocese of Justinopolis – Popularly Koper).
Knjižnica Annales Majora. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije Koper – Škofija Koper,
2001, pp. 343

In accordance with the basic goals of the History Society of Southern Primorska and the Science and Re-

search Centre of the Republic of Slovenia in Koper, set both within the framework of basic as well as applicable research, historiography, as a dominant humanistic science, holds a prominent position, which contributes to a continuous preservation and emphasis of the Southern-Primorska region, i.e. Slovene Istria as one of the most distinctive and typical Slovene bordering areas which has been developing its distinct shape through the historical intertwining of social and cultural events. Within narrow and broad geographical contexts, its shape reflects in numerous historical works, in particular topographies, which can be traced as early as in the period from the first half of the 15th and to the 18th centuries. Beyond doubt, topographies enable us to comprehend basic methodological orientations of historiography, or better – polyhistoricism, of that time inspiring the authors with the historical past. As a consequence, they offer a colourful portrait of the ways historical sources were used and interpreted. Apart from historical elements, they also unveil a strong presence of several modern components in today's Italian, Slovene, Croatian as well as German historiography, i.e. strong tendencies to prove that specific geographical areas, for its multicultural and multiethnic character Istria in particular, belong to the individual national or state community. Due to the connections of a major part of Istria with the Romance or Italian cultural milieu, it becomes clear why most topographies were written by Italian speaking foreign and local authors.

The book *Stari krajepisi Istre (Old Topographies of Istria)*, published in 1999 in the collection *Library Annales Majora*, presented the Slovene public with extracts from 12 topographies of Istria from the 15th to the beginnings of the 18th century for the first time. Not all known Istrian topographies have been published in the Slovene language, and therefore this publication has by no means filled in numerous gaps in Istrian historiography. However, with it the initiative proposed by the Ministry of Culture in 1993 successfully came to reality. The initiative suggested that, due to a poor knowledge of Istrian history, old works especially be translated into Slovene and published, in order to present some basic works of Istrian historiography to the Slovene readership, experts, scientists and history lovers.

In the book mentioned above, its editor-in-chief and the author of the majority of articles it contains, dr. Darko Darovec anticipated the translation and publication of some primary works, in particular the prominent "Corografia ecclesiastica" of Bishop of Koper, Paolo Naldini. The translation and publication have certainly been aided by the 300th anniversary of the publication of the original and the 1400th anniversary of the Diocese of Koper. By organising a rich scientific symposium, held in October 2000 in the premises of the Museum of Koper, the History Society of Southern Primorska and Science and Research Centre celebrated both anniversa-

ries, too. These venerable anniversaries, the 1400th anniversary of the Diocese of Koper and this year's 700th anniversary of the Minorite Monastery in Piran, have provided us with an opportunity for detailed and extensive research of ecclesiastical history, which we so far have missed.

Among a series of topographies, Naldini's topography of the Diocese of Koper dated from 1700 can be defined as one of the most complete and consistent ones, also according to modern historiographical principles of scientific methods and approaches used to deal with specific events and processes. In opposition to the common practices of that time, bibliography and references are quoted in the text. At the same time, Naldini opposes previous writers, and lists arguments that were later mostly confirmed by modern historiography.

Naldini's topography can be defined as a comprehensive inspection that demanded a lot of time, as well as exhausting and accurate work. Since the year 1686, when he was consecrated the bishop of Koper, and until the publication of his work in 1700, he visited and described almost all churches and monasteries in the Diocese of Koper. In addition, he described in detail all ecclesiastical institutions and the state of religion in the whole Diocese, which comprised the vicariates of Piran, Izola, Kubed and Krkavče. Naldini conceived this new administrative structure after the synod called in 1690. Borders of the Diocese of Koper remained unaltered in comparison with the medieval ones: on the north, the Diocese extended as far as St. Peter's church in Gazela (the territory of today's Ankaran). From there it ran southwards along the coast, passed Koper, Izola, Strunjan, Piran and Sečovelje, reaching the Savudrija peninsula, where it touched the territory of Umag, i.e. that of the Diocese of Novigrad. Here the border turned east and ran along the Istria and Savudrija Karst to reach Kaštel. Then, going north, it passed Krkavče and Koštabona (here again it touched the outskirts of the Diocese of Novigrad), and from here it went to Marežige, Lopar, Truške, Popetre and as far as Sočerga, where it turned north again, to Movraž, Smokvica, Gračišče, Hrastovlje, Kubed. It ascended Tinjan and continued to Dekani, Sveti Anton and along the Rižana river to the sea. The Diocese of Koper extended over a territory with a circumference of 60 miles, and was divided, as mentioned above, into four vicariates. These were further divided into parishes, 17 in total in the whole area.

Naldini's complete work is divided into 6 books, which are further divided into chapters: the first book is entitled "O koprski stolnici, škofiji, škofih in kapitlju" (*About the Koper Cathedral, Diocese, Bishops, and Capitol*). The second book is "O svetih in redovnih cerkvah ter dobrotelnih zavodih v Kopru" (*About Holy and Monastic Churches and Charity Institutions in Koper*). The third book describes the first, i.e. the vicariate

of Piran, and the fourth book the vicariate of Izola. The fifth book offers a description of the vicariate of Kubed, and the sixth book the description of the last, that is the Krkavče vicariate. The Diocese of Koper extended almost across the entire territory of the former commune, partly overlapping with that of the present municipality of Koper, with the exception of some villages lying under the Karst Edge (the parish of Osp and Loka, and the village of Rakitovec in the parish of Buzet), which until the year 1788 belonged to the Diocese of Trieste, the village of Šterna, south from the Dragonja river, which belonged to the Diocese of Novigrad, and in conclusion, the municipalities of Izola and Piran. Naldini's work therefore offers a complete portrait of Slovene Istria in terms of its history, religion, ecclesiastical administration, history of art, ethnology, society, linguistics, and last but not least, ethnicity. This especially might be of great interest to a Slovene reader. In contrast with other Italian writers, Naldini ascribed great importance to the Slavic population of Istria and treated it correctly and objectively. Even though they were not autochthonous inhabitants of Istria; it was Naldini who, besides Giacomo Filippo Tommasini, the bishop of Novigrad, referred to Slavs as good and hard-working farmers or colons. This is in complete opposition with viewpoints

expressed by some members of the Koper Accademia dei Risorti, which in the 18th century, under the leadership of renowned Koper illuminist Gian Rinaldo Carli, were rejecting the Slavonic character of Istria. Carli himself felt and considered the Slavonic element to be nothing but an intruder in the Romance tradition of Istria, which he considered a vital element of the embryonic national consciousness of the Italians. After the downfall of the Roman Empire, he thought, Istria fell into a period of decadence he felt as a fall of civilisation values. However, he did not take into consideration the analysis of causes, discussed by several of his contemporaries. He made a rigorous distinction between the aristocratic-bourgeois and the provincial classes, seeing the former as the only protagonist of historical development and carrier of humanistic values. He contraposed the Koper bourgeois to the countryside Slav colons, referring to the latter in a contemptuous and arrogant tone. It should be noted, however, that Carli's attitude in that period was far from being an exception. Some predecessors of Istrian humanism, e.g. Pietro Coppo and Girolamo Muzio, had already expressed before the same views. In terms of his viewpoints as well as his acts, Naldini therefore belonged to a progressive cultural and social environment, which as early as in the periods preceding Carli had witnessed rejections of superficial and subjective assertions, very common in the Venetian aristocratic mentality of that time. For that reason it cannot be surprising that in the period of Naldini's pastoral activities, in the countryside and in the Koper Gregorian Monastery holy masses were held in the Slavonic language, while the year 1710 with the establishment of the "Illyrian Theological Seminary" in Koper, which continued to operate until 1810, represented a climax of his efforts.

Apart from the bishop's findings that revealed the essential need for the education of Glagolitic priests for the predominantly Slavonic countryside, his decisions were probably triggered by the establishment of the "Collegia dei Nobili" in Koper in 1675, which consolidated education as a privilege of the upper classes of the society. In the first period Somascans taught at the Collegio. Bishop Naldini held their work in high opinion, while the attitude of the citizens of Koper towards them was far from being positive. In 1699 Somascans were replaced by their school brothers Scolopi or Piarists: due to the facts that best representatives of this order were being sent to this area by the Roman church and that the population deeply trusted them, with their arrival the reputation of the Collegio rose considerably.

In accordance with aspirations for religious and spiritual regeneration after the Council of Trent, Naldini's efforts in fact were not isolated. Notwithstanding the penetration of illuminist ideas, aiming at strong intellectual influence in religious and social life, the majority of bishops in the territory of the Venetian Republic

neither excelled with exceptional reformation spirit nor with the wish to free the church from political and authoritative influences. However, they were aware of the need for better education and for more active priests, they reorganised public aid, and emphasised the social utility of religion as a basis of every society and the only source of individual and collective morals.

Therefore, Naldini's work can be set within a wider social framework on the verge of the 18th century. Apart from general characteristics of similar works, it also excels with a number of specific characteristics. For that reason it is not only a first-rate historical source, also in view of the fact that since the period in which it was written many sources it quotes have disappeared, but also an exceptional witness of time; not only of churches, villages, squares and cities, the ecclesiastical and secular administration, customs and habits, the economical and social position of the population. It also unveils the spirit of the time, and last but not least, the situation and orientation of historiography of that time.

As a result, Naldini's work is part of valuable historical literature which in an interesting and popular scientific tone in the best possible way portrays the image of the time, people and area of the Diocese of Koper of that time. It also is an indispensable reference book for a variety of experts dealing with research of Istrian history, history of art, and ethnology. The Slovene translation will make this monumental work closer to a wider circle of readers, and thus enable a wider expert and general public to get acquainted with major characteristics from the historical, traditional and cultural heritage of Slovene Istria. In this way it will allow further in-depth research of this in many respects specific territory of the Slovene popular and national body.

Salvator Žitko

Egidio Ivetic: LA POPOLAZIONE DELL'ISTRIA NELL'ETÀ MODERNA. LINEAMENTI EVOLUTIVI. Collana degli Atti, n. 15. Trieste – Rovigno, Centro di ricerche storiche - Rovigno, 1997, pp. 450;
L'ISTRIA MODERNA. UN'INTRODUZIONE AI SECOLI XVI – XVIII. Collana degli Atti, n. 17. Trieste – Rovigno, Centro di ricerche storiche – Rovigno, 1999, pp. 221;
OLTREMARE. L'ISTRIA NELL'ULTIMO DOMINIO VENETO. Memorie, classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, vol. LXXXIX. Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2000, pp. 470

Negli ultimi anni la storiografia dell'Istria si è arricchita ulteriormente con i lavori di ricerca di Egidio Ivetic, giovane ricercatore di Carnizza (Pola) che da diversi anni si occupa proficuamente dello studio della

storia dell'età moderna della penisola istriana. Oltre ai numerosi saggi dello storico, inerenti le problematiche demografiche, economiche e sociali, apparse sugli Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche (nel prosieguo CRS) di Rovigno, sugli Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria di Trieste, sull'Archivio Veneto di Venezia, pubblicato dalla Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, sui Quaderni giuliani di storia, nonché su altre riviste specializzate, Ivetic ha dato alle stampe pure tre libri che si presentano di primaria importanza per il loro contenuto, per la metodologia nonché per la mole di fonti consultate. Queste ultime in gran parte provenienti dagli archivi della regione (Pisino, Capodistria, Pirano, Trieste, archivio della Curia vescovile di Parenzo, ecc.) e dagli archivi e biblioteche di Venezia (Archivio di Stato ai Frari, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr). Degna di nota è sicuramente l'obiettività dello storico istriano, che, privo dei pregiudizi presenti in certi filoni della cosiddetta storiografia "di frontiera" ne fa sicuramente uno studioso di respiro europeo. Nei suoi lavori troviamo, ad esempio, delle analisi "neutre" inerenti alle *facies* etniche della penisola e il loro sviluppo nel corso dei secoli XVII-XIX sino alla formazione delle coscienze nazionali. I lavori del succitato storico si inseriscono nel nuovo filone di ricerca concernente la storia della Serenissima, che non è più soltanto storia della capitale, ma analisi dei legami e delle peculiarità esistenti tra lo Stato da Mar (nel nostro caso) e la Dominante. L'Istria, allora, non viene rappresentata soltanto come una "colonia" di Venezia, ove si riflettono i grandi avvenimenti storici, ma bensì come una parte costituente la repubblica del leone alato, magari situata in "periferia", ma, con le sue caratteristiche, le sue problematiche. La ricerca tende allora ad analizzare la sua economia, la politica demografica della Serenissima, le alterazioni etniche avvenute in diverse regioni della penisola, gli aspetti urbani, le differenze tra città e contado, gli aspetti sanitari, nonché si sofferma su problematiche socio – economiche, come ad esempio il brigantaggio, il contrabbando, i conflitti tra abitanti autoctoni e *habitant* *novi*, le strutture sociali, la vita quotidiana, ecc.

Il libro *La popolazione dell'Istria nell'età moderna. Lineamenti evolutivi*, pubblicato dal CRS di Rovigno nel 1997 nella collana Atti (numero 15), è una meticolosa ricostruzione degli aspetti demografici della penisola dalla fine del XV secolo sino agli inizi del XIX. L'autore utilizza svariate fonti provenienti dagli archivi ecclesiastici delle località istriane, che conservano informazioni preziosissime per quanto concerne l'età moderna, poiché all'indomani del concilio di Trento, furono proprio le parrocchie le istituzioni che controllavano la vita sociale delle comunità, iniziando a segnalare negli appositi libri le nascite, i matrimoni e i decessi, avvenuti all'interno delle comunità stesse. Il lavoro di Ivetic si pre-

senta interessantissimo in quanto ci presenta una popolazione istriana, la cui consistenza numerica variava da un periodo all'altro, presentandoci gli intervalli di profonde crisi, la lenta risollevarzione ed i periodi di stagnazione, dovuti ai flagelli della peste, delle guerre e delle carestie che contribuirono a decimare la popolazione, in particolar modo nei secoli XVI e XVII. Attraverso la rilettura di una vasta letteratura concernente l'Istria, ovvero l'Adriatico in generale, Ivetic analizza i dati ricavati dalla stessa e li integra con le fonti d'archivio usando nuovi canoni interpretativi che gli consentono sicuramente una migliore e più accurata indagine delle problematiche relative alla popolazione, rispetto agli studiosi del passato che si occuparono di questi argomenti.

Nella stesura del testo, l'autore prende in considerazione la penisola come un corpo unico evidenziando, ovviamente, le caratteristiche e le problematiche presenti nella parte veneta e in quella asburgica (contea di Pisino), e non le separa in due realtà circoscritte. La popolazione della penisola istriana, le origini della stessa, gli insediamenti e la struttura etnica, sono stati per molto tempo gli argomenti "scottanti" per le storiografie italiana e jugoslava (slovena e croata), specialmente all'indomani del secondo conflitto mondiale e nel periodo successivo, quando si dovettero tracciare le nuove frontiere tra la repubblica d'Italia e la repubblica socialista di Jugoslavia. Lo Schiffrer e il Sestan nei loro testi tracciarono una sorta di spartiacque tra popolazioni romanze e slave, le prime ubicate prevalentemente lungo la costa mentre le seconde all'interno. Quanto sostenuto dai due studiosi è stato rivisto nelle ricerche più recenti, e anche Miroslav Bertoša, uno tra i massimi storici istriani dell'età moderna, non ha mai smentito quanto succitato, ha dimostrato altresì che, per capire la realtà istriana, la provenienza e l'origine etnica degli abitanti non siano elementi di primaria importanza, poiché gli stessi si sono "modellati" vivendo e operando in determinate aree d'insediamento. Perciò per il periodo sino al XIX secolo è più opportuno parlare di aree linguistico – culturali, piuttosto che etniche.

Ma soffermiamoci sul lavoro. Egidio Ivetic scrive che "nella storiografia si è venuta formando la convinzione che il malessere dell'Istria moderna sia dovuto principalmente ad una progressiva "desertificazione dell'elemento umano", le cui radici affondano nel XIV secolo ed il cui apice venne raggiunto tre il Cinque ed il Seicento" (p. 23). Il lavoro di ricerca si apre con una analisi sulla storiografia che si è occupata del fenomeno demografico istriano nel corso dei secoli. Già Bartolomeo Vergottin nel suo *Breve saggio d'istoria antica e moderna della città di Parenzo nell'Istria*, pubblicato a Venezia nel 1796, evidenziava le spaventose condizioni in cui si trovava la città a causa del calo demografico. Nel corso del XIX secolo, Pietro Kandler spiegò che il decremento della popolazione fosse dovuto alla malaria

imperante, mentre Carlo Combi mise in relazione lo spopolamento della regione e l'immigrazione dei coloni slavi. L'argomento viene affrontato pure da Carlo De Franceschi nel libro *L'Istria. Note storiche*, la prima sintesi di storia istriana, pubblicata a Parenzo nel 1879. Nella seconda metà dell'800 vennero pubblicate le fonti contenenti dati demografici, che Tomaso Luciani trasse dai documenti veneziani, che apparirono dapprima su *La Provincia dell'Istria*, di Capodistria, dopodiché sugli *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria* di Parenzo. Siccome per la prima metà del XX secolo non possiamo parlare di una storiografia slava dell'Istria, nel secondo dopoguerra, gli studiosi jugoslavi predilessero in particolar modo lo studio delle condizioni etniche ed economiche nei contesti rurali, poiché proprio colà la presenza slava era superiore. Le opere realizzate sino alla fine degli anni '60, ma anche più tardi, erano contraddistinte da una marcata impronta ideologica, di stampo marxista ma anche nazionalistica. Nonostante tutto, però, uscirono contributi di tutto rispetto. In questo contesto basti ricordare il lavoro di Miroslav Pahor, *Socialni boji v občini Piran od XV do XVIII stoletja* [Lotte sociali a Pirano dal XV al XVIII secolo] del 1972, che, nonostante non sia un lavoro di carattere nazionalistico, si fonda esclusivamente sulla teoria del conflitto.

Ivetic sottolinea che, mentre possediamo un numero ipotetico degli abitanti nell'età antica, mancano del tutto i dati per il Medioevo e non si può ipotizzare la quantità degli stessi prima del XIV secolo. Anche il secolo successivo non fornisce allo studioso una copiosa documentazione e si può sostenere piuttosto che "il buio in materia di cifre per ciò che concerne il Quattrocento, illuminato qua e là dagli sprazzi di luce delle note come quelle su Pola e Parenzo, su Pirano e Albona non basta certo a dare un'idea chiara di come si presentava la popolazione complessiva nella penisola" (p. 66). Nonostante non ci si possa sbilanciare, per mancanza di dati, Ivetic è convinto che il XV secolo doveva essere dal punto di vista demografico, un periodo felice a differenza del XVI, contraddistinto da conflitti, pestilenze, scorrerie ecc. Nel '400 la penisola istriana poteva annoverare una popolazione compresa tra 36.000 e 41.000 abitanti (p. 71). Il periodo compreso tra il 1550 ed il 1660 fu probabilmente il periodo più critico dal punto di vista demografico, la cui stagnazione fu il risultato di una crisi economica, il cui sistema produttivo si limitò a fornire il minimo indispensabile per l'autoconsumo e la sussistenza a causa della mancanza di braccia che lavorassero il terreno. Il periodo di crisi ovvero "la stagnazione cinque – seicentesca è certamente un periodo, visto nell'insieme, complesso e specifico, in cui si bilanciano lo spopolamento ed il relativo ripopolamento, processi che certo non possono venir concepiti né interpretati in modo storico – letterario come se fossero sequenze drammatiche, tragedie collettive, espressioni della decadenza della civiltà latina, dal sorgere di una slava" (p. 76). Si verificò ciò, in quanto la modernistica istriana aveva preso in considerazione soltanto alcune fonti (testimonianze dei rettori, dei prelati, corografie) ignorandone altre e perciò giunse alle solite e note conclusioni. Giulio Cervani ed Ettore De Franceschi dicono che lo spopolamento è uno dei principali problemi dell'età moderna, Ivetic, concorde con i primi due, aggiunge inoltre che, è pure un problema storiografico. Il XVI secolo fu, indubbiamente, un periodo funesto per l'intera regione. Dalla guerra contro Massimiliano d'Asburgo (1508-1516) che devastò il Pinguentino, la contea arciducale, Montona, Dignano, Albona, Muggia ecc., seguì la peste che non risparmiò nemmeno la fascia costiera, che in precedenza uscì indenne dal conflitto; il flagello colpì particolarmente Pola (1527). Se tutto ciò non bastasse, il 1548 fu un anno particolarmente rigido, e portò alla perdita di buona parte degli olivi, mentre negli anni 1554-55 e 1557-58 l'epidemia della peste imperversò nell'Istria nord – occidentale (p. 82). Il '500 fu pure il periodo della colonizzazione dell'Istria da parte veneziana, e Ivetic ne analizza la politica demografica, atta a ripopolare quei territori istriani disabitati o quasi. Nel 1520 venne fondata Carnizza, da parte di un gruppo di famiglie provenienti dell'entroterra zarantino, mentre a Pola, ridotta

ad uno sparuto numero di abitanti, nel 1540 giunsero 70 famiglie originarie di Malvasia e Napoli (Morea), fuggite dai loro territori in seguito all'avanzata ottomana in Grecia. La geografia dei villaggi fondati *ex novo* va osservata anche in base alla funzione che essi svolsero nel corso del XVI secolo. Villa di Rovigno venne creata per bloccare, o comunque ostacolare un eventuale sfondamento austriaco verso la costa (p. 85). Altri insediamenti vennero fondati nei territori prospicienti la contea di Pisino, ove si estendeva il *limes* veneziano lungo la penisola. La zona di frontiera era caratterizzata da continui sconfinamenti – visto che, per molto tempo le due parti non riuscirono a stabilire una linea di demarcazione ben precisa –, da razzie di animali, distruzione dei raccolti ecc. Questi attriti sfociarono ben presto in scontri che produssero anche molte vittime; questa, infatti, fu la realtà delle zone di confine tra il XVI ed il XVIII secolo.

L'autore prosegue la sua trattazione, osservando il calo demografico provocato dalla guerra di Gradisca (o degli uscocchi) che interessò la regione tra il 1615 ed il 1618. La peste degli anni '30 del XVII secolo, provocò la decimazione della popolazione, specialmente nel meridione della penisola, nella zona del canale di Leme, lungo la costa occidentale (tra Salvore e Parenzo) e nel Capodistriano settentrionale. Negli anni '20 del Seicento ripresero i flussi migratori verso l'Istria veneta, i coloni vennero collocati nel Parentino, nella Polesana, a Due Castelli, a San Lorenzo. Tra il 1627-28 giunsero molte famiglie provenienti dalla zona del Velebit, dalla Bosnia occidentale, dalle Bocche di Cattaro e dal Montenegro (p. 125). In questo contesto, l'autore ricorda gli Hajduk e i Cretesi, giunti colà nella seconda metà del XVII secolo. I primi erano originari delle Bocche di Cattaro, e giunsero a Pola nel maggio del 1671. A casua del loro carattere irruento e minaccioso, si verificarono non pochi problemi con l'elemento autoctono. Gli Hajduk erano guerrieri pagati dalla Serenissima per difendere i lembi meridionali dei suoi territori adriatici, e perciò gli stessi ebbero grossi problemi a placare i loro spiriti e a trasformarsi in agricoltori, e dopo breve tempo lasciarono la penisola per raggiungere la Dalmazia. I cretesi, che lasciarono l'isola in seguito al conflitto turco – veneziano (1645-1669) si stabilirono nella zona di Parenzo e non dimostrarono grosse difficoltà ad adattarsi al nuovo ambiente (p. 261).

Il XVIII secolo si presenta invece come il periodo in cui si verifica una crescita della popolazione, nonostante i primi anni del nuovo secolo siano caratterizzati da una particolare ondata di freddo che colpì l'intero Mediterraneo europeo e provocò la gelata di gran parte degli olivi (1709). Gli anni 1709-10 furono interessati da una grande carestia di cereali, mentre nel 1715 si affacciarono nuovamente in mare i pirati dulcignotti (p. 138). Nonostante tutto ciò, nel 1790 la penisola istriana poté annoverare una popolazione pari a 85.242 abitanti e la

cui crescita continuò anche nel XIX secolo: nel 1825 gli abitanti complessivi risultavano essere 96.000 (p. 167).

Dopo aver tracciato l'andamento demografico istriano attraverso i secoli, analizzando i vari fattori che provocarono le crescite, le ricadute, la stagnazione, Ivetic prosegue il suo ampio saggio, osservando alcune particolari realtà. Vengono prese in considerazione le vicende urbane di Capodistria nel periodo compreso tra il 1530 ed il 1650 (pp. 203-213), la depressione demografica di Pola, Parenzo e Cittanova negli anni 1554-1700 (pp. 213-218), l'ascesa di Rovigno (pp. 223-230) e la consistenza e la distribuzione del clero nel Settecento (pp. 231-235). Il volume si conclude con una vasta appendice di tabelle (pp. 301-391), in cui vengono esposti i più svariati dati inerenti la popolazione dell'Istria nell'età moderna. Per rendere l'idea dell'importanza di questa parte del libro, indichiamo alcune tabelle a mo'd'esempio: la crescita nella diocesi di Cittanova: 1686-1715 (p. 322); lo sviluppo demografico di alcuni centri rurali nell'area del Quieto (1687-1797) (p. 327); la popolazione nella contea di Pisino nel 1812 (p. 331); il movimento naturale della popolazione di Pisino (1646-1700); la struttura della famiglia a Parenzo nel 1775 (p. 385) ecc.

La meticolosa ricerca di Egidio Ivetic è sicuramente lo studio monografico più serio e ampio che sia stato scritto nel secondo dopoguerra, importante, anche per il fatto che, l'autore, ha cercato di rappresentare la complessa realtà istriana nell'età moderna, intersecando nella trattazione una vastissima letteratura (dall'Ottocento ad oggi) e un'altrettanto ampia documentazione d'archivio, che fornisce ulteriori dati, utili alla ricostruzione degli aspetti della popolazione istriana, dall'autunno del Medioevo ai primi decenni del XIX secolo, quando, dopo guerre, pestilenze, carestie, immigrazioni delle popolazioni più eterogenee da parte di Venezia, iniziava la crescita esponenziale della popolazione della penisola, favorita dalle migliori condizioni di vita, dai notevoli progressi sanitari, da una maggiore produttività agricola e dalla diffusione della coltura della patata.

Il volume *L'Istria moderna. Un'introduzione ai secoli XVI – XVIII*, pubblicato nella nota collana degli Atti del CRS roviginese nel 1999, è un agile e importante lavoro inerente l'Istria dell'*ancienne régime*. Ivetic sostiene che, il libro non è un riepilogo della storia istriana nell'età moderna, poiché è ancora prematuro per farlo, ma bensì una rapida introduzione sulle problematiche della regione nel periodo succitato. L'autore, forse con troppa modestia, sostiene che, lo scritto è rivolto soprattutto ai giovani e agli studenti in generale, come primo avvio alla conoscenza della storia moderna della penisola. A nostro avviso, possiamo dire invece che, il volume rappresenta un'ottima sintesi della storia dell'età moderna dell'Istria, in base alle ricerche sinora effettuate (siamo

anche noi del parere che, questo periodo storico debba essere ulteriormente analizzato con l'ausilio della documentazione ancora sepolta nei più svariati archivi, e all'insegna di un discorso storiografico scevro di qualsiasi implicazione di natura politica e/o nazionalistica, che per molto tempo ha caratterizzato il *trend* delle storiografie italiana e jugoslava), e offre altresì molti spunti per ulteriori riflessioni e ricerche su argomenti di natura sociale, economica, politica ecc.

L'Istria, sino al XIX secolo, era caratterizzata dalle etnie, ma non ancora dalle nazioni ed è perciò descritta come l'Istria delle piccole patrie dei comuni e dei feudi. L'autore ha fissato come estremi della sua trattazione il 1535 (sentenza di Trento e definizione dei confini all'interno della penisola ed eliminazione delle *enclaves* feudali) ed il 1797 (caduta della Serenissima), ma comunque avverte che, si tratta soltanto di una periodizzazione di comodo, poiché l'antico regime non tramontò con la fine della Dominante e nemmeno con l'avvento del Restaurazione perché si conservò (in certe realtà) sino alla fine della grande guerra ovvero sino al secondo dopoguerra.

Il primo periodo dell'età moderna fu interessato da un ricambio ininterrotto di genti nei contadi e nei centri urbani, inoltre nel periodo compreso tra il 1520 ed il 1670 la penisola conobbe la colonizzazione organiz-

zata. Seppure il volume prenda in esame la penisola come un corpo unico, essa era caratterizzata da due realtà: quella veneziana, fondata sulla civiltà comunale, e quella aburgica, feudale e germanica. Le città dell'Adriatico orientale, (quasi tutte appartenenti a Venezia eccetto Trieste e Fiume austriache, la repubblica di Ragusa, e gli scali ottomani di Antivari, Dulcigno, Durazzo e Valona) avevano le loro istituzioni, norme e tradizioni, erano profondamente legate al mare e ai commerci, nonché presentavano le peculiarità delle strutture economiche, ovvero un'insufficiente produzione cerealicola e un'abbondanza di olio e vino. I territori veneti della penisola comprendevano il 77% della superficie totale, l'Istria comunale s'attestava nel 63% della regione, con una popolazione pari al 65% del totale (p. 35). Ivetic indica pure che la penisola istriana era suddivisa in 19 comuni, e la società comunale era suddivisa in tre categorie: c'erano quattro città, cioè antichi municipi e sedi vescovili (Capodistria, Cittanova, Parenzo e Pola); otto terre ovvero borghi di carattere urbano (Muggia, Isola, Pirano, Umago, Buie, Rovigno, Dignano e Albona), e sette castelli, centri minori, murati e situati prevalentemente all'interno (Pinguente, Grisignana, Montona, Portole, San Lorenzo, Valle e Fianona) (p. 36). In tutte queste realtà vi era presente una podestaria (tranne Albona e Fianona, che facevano un'unica compagine) il cui podestà veniva scelto all'interno del patriziato veneto e la sua carica durava un anno e mezzo. Nella contea arciducale il territorio era suddiviso invece in: città (*Statt*) ovvero Pedena, Gallignana, Antignana, cittadine (*Städtl*) Pisino, Vermo, Laurana, comunità (*communa*) Gimino, Pisinvecchio, Lindaro e Bogliuno, e in fine in frazioni (*flekhen*) (p. 37).

Dopo aver esposto alcuni dati concernenti la situazione e le realtà dell'Istria in età moderna, Ivetic inizia a tracciare alcuni aspetti inerenti l'economia, la società e le questioni etniche. Per quanto attiene il numero della popolazione istriana nel periodo succitato, non si dispone di dati certi, e soltanto con l'applicazione delle *Anagrafi* (1766) da parte dello stato veneto che si inizia ad avere un quadro più dettagliato inerente la popolazione. Nonostante non siano esenti da possibili errori, queste rappresentavano sicuramente uno dei sistemi più avanzati dell'antico regime per calcolare la popolazione nonché per registrare la tipologia delle attività economiche presenti nello stato. La popolazione istriana subì un decremento nel giro di pochi decenni a causa dei conflitti, delle epidemie e delle carestie che non risparmiarono la penisola. Nel 1520 essa probabilmente si aggirava attorno alle 50.000 unità, ovvero 85.000 nel 1580, scendendo di oltre la metà (40.000) nel 1632 per riprendere a crescere nei secoli successivi: 100.000 (1740); 120.000 (1800); 165.000 (1850) (p. 69).

L'economia istriana nell'età moderna era fondata in buona parte sull'agricoltura, e su altre attività che

nacquero in determinate aree, come ad esempio, l'estrazione del carbone nell'Albonese a partire dalla metà del XVIII secolo. Ivetic si sofferma pure su due realtà ben distinte quali Pirano e Rovigno. La prima, nota per le sue saline che le fruttavano grossi introiti, impiegava negli stabilimenti saliferi circa il 35-40% della forza lavoro. Rovigno, alla fine del XVII secolo, conobbe una rivoluzione nella tecnica della pesca. I roviginesi abbandonarono il precedente modello di pesca (in prevalenza lungo la costa, e sfruttamento delle peschiere di proprietà feudale, ecclesiastica) ed iniziarono a praticare la pesca d'altura, scegliendo come zona il mezzogiorno istriano, meno abitato e soprattutto più ricco di pesce in prossimità del Quarnero.

Molto interessante la parte dedicata alle popolazioni che abitarono la penisola nell'età moderna. L'autore ribadisce che nel suddetto periodo non esisteva il concetto di nazionalità, ma che era invece sviluppato il concetto di nazione, caratterizzato dalla sudditanza, dalla lingua d'uso, dai costumi ecc. Trattando queste problematiche è privo di significato applicare i nostri parametri ad epoche che invece le ignoravano. Vjekoslav Bratulić in una monografia inerente Villa di Rovigno scrive che gli abitanti erano italiani e croati. Ivetic è del parere che non si possa semplificare a ridurre a uno – due componenti i vari gruppi, ovvero le nazioni del passato istriano, e sostiene che i futuri studi dovranno cercare di analizzare con quali identità siano vissuti i vari gruppi nelle campagne istriane (sino alla metà dell'800), prima che quest'ultimi giungessero a dichiararsi sloveni o croati (pp. 131-132). Per molto tempo l'identità (in senso d'appartenenza) si riconosceva *in primis* nel luogo di residenza. Inoltre "se non conosciamo le norme, le reciproche utilità e dipendenze, la logica del rapporto comune – contado ma partiamo dal presupposto etnico, non capiremo nulla di quello che era la vita rurale nell'antico regime istriano" (p. 137). La dicotomia città (italiana)-contado (slavo) è stata anzitutto una troppo facile rappresentazione della presenza delle due etnie, e oggi non ha più molto senso parlare di una specie di "muro" tra l'area urbana e la campagna. Ivetic cita alcune realtà istriane, come Albona, Montona, Pinguente ecc. abitati istroveneti, per distinguersi dal contado slavo, elementi significativi per iniziare a ragionare (mediante le fonti) sulla questione; per poi non parlare dei feudi prevalentemente slavi o etnicamente misti, oppure la contea di Pisino, con i borghi, che pur isolati conservavano connotazioni istro – venete immersi nelle campagne slave. Lo storico indica inoltre il diffuso bilinguismo che emerge in tutta una serie di fonti. Ivetic considera questo aspetto come "una terza o quarta dimensione che impregna il territorio e che va al di là dal facile dualismo italo – slavo" (p. 137).

È questa la realtà dell'Istria in età moderna, caratterizzata da un'osmosi tra le popolazioni, che si man-

tenne tale (specialmente nelle campagne) sino al XX secolo, il cui equilibrio si ruppe con la violenza fascista atta a snazionalizzare l'elemento slavo della regione e in seguito all'esodo della componente istro – veneta nel secondo dopoguerra, che cambiò radicalmente la situazione etnica in Istria.

Queste problematiche potranno essere risolte soltanto mediante minuziose ricerche che terranno conto delle fonti ecclesiastiche (in primo luogo le visite pastorali), una documentazione che farà luce sulla realtà religiosa delle campagne ma non solo. Ivetic dice inoltre che "il punto di forza, il tratto originale, di una matura modernistica istriana (a prescindere dalla lingua in cui viene scritta) sarà questo: presentare la propria complessità etnica attraverso il prisma della storia sociale e religiosa". La quarta parte del volume porta il titolo di "*I percorsi storiografici*" (pp. 145-177) e rappresenta un *excursus* di grande interesse poiché rappresenta il ruolo che la storiografia di queste terre ha avuto dai suoi albori sino ai nostri giorni.

L'ultima fatica di Egidio Ivetic è il volume *Oltremare. L'Istria nell'ultimo dominio veneto*, pubblicato dall'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Venezia nel 2000. Il libro raccoglie le ricerche realizzate dall'autore per la tesi di dottorato svolta presso l'Università di Venezia negli anni 1994-1997. Si tratta di uno studio di primaria importanza. Notevoli sono le conclusioni di Ivetic, ovvero la dimostrazione che l'Istria non fu una colonia veneziana bensì una "periferia" stretta da forti legami di dipendenza politica e amministrativa alla Serenissima e con una economia propria ed essenziale alla città lagunare. Grazie ad una minuziosa e ragionata consultazione della letteratura storica (la bibliografia da lui consultata supera di molto le 500 unità) e attraverso l'analisi di una copiosa documentazione d'archivio (l'autore ha consultato praticamente tutti gli archivi dell'Adriatico settentrionale) ci presenta l'Istria negli anni compresi tra la metà del XVII secolo alla caduta della repubblica di San Marco.

Gli anni immediatamente successivi alla Restaurazione crearono il mito negativo del dominio marciano in Istria e Dalmazia, in quanto l'arretratezza di queste ultime due regioni, ad eccezione di Trieste, venivano fatte risalire al XVIII secolo. Si creò così uno schema dell'ultimo periodo veneziano che ebbe da subito fortuna e si mantenne nel tempo. Così, dalla pubblicistica divulgativa esso passò alla storiografia liberale otto – novecentesca, venne acquisito da quella jugoslava e rimase in piedi sino agli anni '70 del XX secolo. Soltanto nell'ultimo quarto del secolo scorso, la ricerca storica iniziò ad indagare il periodo suddetto fornendo nuovi elementi grazie ai quali si è iniziato a ripensare la storia della sponda orientale adriatica (p. 9). Secondo Ivetic "l'Istria veneta appariva ancora, data la sua vicinanza marittima con la Dominante, come una propaggine estrema della

laguna, confine e antemurale, la più vicina periferia adriatica" (p. 13).

Nel tardo '500 la Dominante concentrò i suoi sforzi verso la trasformazione delle strutture di governo, si razionalizzarono le istituzioni, mentre nella figura del rettore vennero concentrate le competenze più importanti. Non va dimenticato che la Serenissima, specialmente nel corso del XVII secolo, investì consistenti capitali nelle periferie adriatiche con il risultato che alla fine riscosse poco o nulla. Le popolazioni che Venezia portò in Istria necessitavano di ogni tipo d'aiuto, si dovevano distribuire gli arnesi da lavoro, cibo, animali, sementi, assegnare terreni e pagare i periti, ripristinare le case abbandonate nei centri spopolati (p. 48). Ivetić illustra alcuni esempi significativi che dimostrano che, in realtà le uscite dalle casse venete verso le terre istriane erano di gran lunga maggiori rispetto alle entrate che si presentavano minime o addirittura inesistenti come nel caso di Altura nella Polesana, ove nel 1647 vennero insediate circa un centinaio di persone provenienti dalla Dalmazia e spesi circa 3000 ducati. Dopo un ventennio, a causa delle avversità climatiche e dei problemi nell'avviare la produzione agricola, la cifra venne estinta. Nel 1650 a Santa Maria Alta di Valle giunsero circa 70 famiglie provenienti dai territori ottomani. Oltre alle

spese che questa operazione comportava, la Serenissima spese ulteriori 1500 ducati, dei quali in tredici anni ritornarono in cassa solo 320 e in quindici anni le famiglie rimaste furono soltanto dieci (p. 49).

Dal punto di vista economico la penisola istriana non poteva annoverare ampie zone produttive ed il campo fiscale, tranne 2-3 dazi provinciali di dubbia resa (commercio di olio e vino, diritti di cancelleria), poggiava quasi esclusivamente sull'economia del Capodistriano, sulla sua florida produzione (sale, olio, vino, mulini) e sul consumo che avveniva in città (ovvero vari dazi sulle osterie, beccarie ecc.) (p. 60).

La tesi che vede l'Adriatico orientale come dominio coloniale di Venezia ha avuto largo seguito nella storiografia. Egidio Ivetić dimostra, che in realtà, la Serenissima vedeva l'Adriatico orientale come una sorta di periferia. Questo non vuole dire che si trattava di una zona economicamente passiva ma di "un'area con un'individualità complementare rispetto alla capitale" (p. 88). Se ciò non corrispondesse, allora risulterebbe strano come mai la Dominante avesse investito in queste terre non solo in fortificazioni bensì anche in una politica demografica atta a ripopolare le aree colpite dai flagelli della peste, oppure in tutta una serie di riforme portate avanti sino agli ultimi giorni della Repubblica.

L'autore concede ampio spazio al problema della popolazione. Dagli anni '20-'30 del XVI secolo sino al tardo '600 la penisola appariva come una desolata appendice marittima della Dominante (p. 93) i cui centri principali annoveravano poche centinaia di abitanti (verso il 1650 Parenzo contava circa 150 abitanti, Pola 400, Cittanova circa 100-150) e dove la situazione sarebbe cambiata soltanto nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo. Nel 1770 la popolazione di Pola raddoppiò, quella di Cittanova risultava quintuplicata, mentre quella di Parenzo addirittura decuplicata (p. 95). In questo periodo i principali prodotti dell'Istria erano il legno, l'olio d'oliva, il vino ed il sale. La produzione dell'olio d'oliva subì un aumento esponenziale e nel 1635 essa raddoppiò rispetto al 1590; tra il 1640-50 un quarto della superficie coltivata della regione era interessata da oliveti. Il vino della zona settentrionale e occidentale veniva venduto ai *Cranzi* che provenivano dalle terre asburgiche, mentre quello prodotto nell'Istria orientale finiva sul mercato di Fiume e Porto Re. L'argomento inerente la produzione salifera viene ampiamente trattato: Ivetić si sofferma sul caso di Pirano (pp. 174-180) nonché su quello di Capodistria (pp. 187-204). Trattando argomenti economici, l'autore non poteva sottrarsi dall'analisi del fenomeno del contrabbando che veniva visto come una "libera mercatura" sentita come un diritto, al punto da difenderla con la forza nei confronti degli sbirri" (p. 217). Il fenomeno viene interpretato anche dal punto di vista sociologico, poiché la politica fiscale che proveniva dalla Dominante appariva astratta a chi praticava il contrabbando in quanto, per quest'ul-

timo la patria corrispondeva alla dimensione comunale e di conseguenza riteneva di non fare alcun torto alla propria comunità, anzi la sosteneva e di conseguenza si sentiva giustificato (p. 217). Proseguendo con gli aspetti di natura economica, Ivetic evidenzia i cambiamenti che si verificarono tra la seconda metà del '600 e la prima metà del '700. Tra il 1720-30 le terre adriatiche conobbero un notevole impulso economico e sociale, che contribuì all'accelerazione dell'interscambio con le regioni contermini e con le aree adriatiche (p. 207).

Studiando l'Istria del '600-'700 è doveroso distinguere il contesto rurale da quello cittadino con le sue divergenze etno – linguistiche ecc. Attraverso l'analisi della Anagrafi venete veniamo a conoscenza che nel 1766-70 il 54% della popolazione istriana viveva nei contadi. Il XVIII secolo si presenta come la stagione in cui si stabilizzano le comunità di recente formazione. Poiché il concetto di nazionalità non esisteva, le comunità appartenevano a una *nazione*, termine che non assumeva il significato attuale, ma corrispondeva all'insieme di caratteristiche di una comunità (lingua, religione, usi e costumi). Il vescovo Tomasini, verso il 1650, suddivideva la popolazione in cinque gruppi ovvero: 1) i nativi (italiani), 2) gli slavi, 3) i morlacchi, 4) i gradesi, 5) i friulani e i carnielli. Gli slavi si differenziavano dai morlacchi per il fatto di essere autoctoni, in quanto presenti sin dall'alto medioevo, mentre i morlacchi, erano anch'essi di matrice slava ma provenienti in Istria da altri contesti in seguito alla colonizzazione pianificata di Venezia.

Prendendo in considerazione il periodo 1650-1800 possiamo dire che nelle città e nei centri minori del litorale settentrionale e occidentale la parlata era quella istro – veneta e quella istro – romanza (a sud di Rovigno) mentre un'analoga cultura era presente all'interno come a Buie, Grisignana, Portole, Montona, Valle, Dignano, Pinguente, sebbene nelle zone interne fosse diffuso il bilinguismo. Lungo la costa orientale la lingua istro – veneta era profondamente radicata ad Albona e Fianona mentre nel contado prevaleva la parlata ciakava – croata, l'istrioto prevaleva poi nella Polesana, a Fasana, a Gallese e Sissano mentre l'istro – veneto veniva parlato da Buie a Verteneglio sino a Visinada e Visignano (p. 291). L'autore rileva altresì che la storiografia ha spesso e volentieri utilizzato la semplicistica contrapposizione città italiana/ campagna slava mentre ha completamente accantonato il problema del bilinguismo che rappresenta una sorta di "terza dimensione" importante per comprendere molti aspetti della vita sociale, religiosa e linguistica della regione. Man mano che si procedeva verso l'interno la doppia parlata tendeva a scomparire, l'autore evidenzia che pure lungo la costa esistevano zone monolingui slave, come per esempio nei dintorni di Pola, dove esisteva una sacca ciakava che conviveva senza interferenze con l'istro – veneto (p. 305).

Un discorso a parte va fatto per la città che era monolingue (istro – veneta). Ivetic dice che è "sempre aperta all'immigrazione dal territorio, essa è impermeabile alla sua lingua; e del resto essa esprime, anche come spazio fisico, l'idea di una cultura comunale, più vicina ad analoghe società gemelle d'oltremare che alle ville dei dintorni" (p. 306). Nel 1770 i dieci comuni marittimi dell'Istria annoveravano circa 29.000 abitanti. La popolazione dei centri costieri iniziò sempre più ad occuparsi nella navigazione che finì per affiancare la pesca. Il grande interesse verso questa attività fu dovuto dalla perdita degli olivi durante il freddo del 1787. Nel 1746 gli addetti alla navigazione risultavano all'altezza del 7,8% della popolazione totale dei centri marittimi, nel 1790 quest'ultimi rappresentavano il 10% (p. 362). Lo studio si conclude con una appendice di tabelle (pp. 399-416).

Il libro di Egidio Ivetic, attraverso una attenta rilettura della bibliografia esistente, affiancata dall'analisi dettagliata delle fonti edite e grazie allo spoglio di una mole non indifferente di documenti d'archivio, presenta nuovi aspetti dell'Istria dell'antico regime. Lo stesso contribuisce non poco alla modernistica istriana, che può annoverare uno studio di ampio respiro, obiettivo ed erudito. Il lavoro di ricerca, attraverso precise e minuziose osservazioni ha contribuito a demolire molti luoghi comuni che hanno sinora contraddistinto la storiografia concernente l'ultimo periodo veneto nell'Adriatico orientale.

Kristjan Knez

Josip Vrandečić: DALMATINSKI AUTONOMISTIČKI
POKRET U XIX. STOLJEĆU (*The Autonomist Movement
in Dalmatia in the 19th Century*).
Zagreb, Dom i svijet, 2002, pp. 332

In Croatian historiography, the autonomist movement in Dalmatia has so far been studied mainly through its conflicts with the nationalists, who were always in the centre of interest in the 19th century Dalmatia. For a thorough and professional research into this movement, which in every respect posed as anti-Croatian, although not anti-Slavic, a greater temporal distance was necessary. At the end of the 20th century, when enough time had passed since the movement lost all its significance in everyday life, a need for a more radical research into the movement and its stratification became increasingly evident. The not at all simple task of analysing the autonomist movement, with a wide spectre of ideas occurring within its framework, as well as a reconstruction of its leaders and exponents of its ideology, was tackled by Josip Vrandečić, assistant professor at the Department of History at the Faculty of

Philosophy in Zadar. His printed monograph on the autonomist movement in Dalmatia is in fact the author's doctoral dissertation successfully defended at Yale University in the USA.

The first part of Vrandečić's study on the autonomist movement entitled *Povijesno nasljeđe* (15-81) acquaints us with cultural heritage of Dalmatia from antiquity to Enlightenment, in which both autonomists and nationalists found the backgrounds of their political ideas and quoted them as references. The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the foundations of the autonomist movement. The development of regional consciousness was manifested to a great extent in the ideas of Dalmatian Baroque and Enlightenment thinkers. The strengthening of the regional awareness became particularly evident in the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic period, when late Roman traditions were revived, together with increasing strengthening of the Italian cultural and linguistic influence. Formation of the autonomist movement in Dalmatia was no doubt greatly influenced by the ideas of romanticism and nationalism. The author concludes how the perception of Dalmatian reciprocity of events had till the revolutionary year of 1848 been turned towards social, political and cultural integration of Dalmatia. It was only the opposition to the

initiative by Zagreb to unite Dalmatia with Croatia that transformed Dalmatian regionalism into autonomism as a political movement. In the nobility and the elites of the coastal towns, particularly civil servants, the opinion about Dalmatians differing from Croats began to prevail along with awareness of Dalmatia being a Slavic entity. A series of different occurrences finally led to the rejection of the initiative to unite with Croatia. Dalmatia as a region, in which there were practically no revolutionary events, was just slightly shaken up by this initiative, which means that political movements and struggle for certain objectives by both the autonomists and nationalists (whom the autonomists call annexationists due to their wish to annex Dalmatia to Croatia) only began after 1860, during the new debate on reformation of the Habsburg monarchy.

The second (central) part of the study, which carries the title *Conflict* (pp. 83-219), deals with the history of the autonomist movement from 1861 to 1886, its programme and public functioning. It describes the rapid strengthening of the autonomist movement in the 1860s, the conflicts and political struggle between Dalmatian regionalists and Croatian nationalists, and the gradual yielding to the Croatian national movement in the 1860s and 1870s. Much more important, however, is the fact that this part also deals with mutual relations and differences between the followers of the autonomist movement themselves, mainly those from the Split and Zadar circles. It is this very special view from within that poses as the greatest novelty, which the just published monograph offers to the public and due to which it will remain indispensable in historiography of the second half of the 19th century Dalmatia. The numerous newspaper polemics and antagonisms within the this movement made the latter very dynamic, both during the conflicts between the liberal and the conservative poles as well as in the opposition of the pure regionalism and Italian nationalism or, in other words, in Slav and Italian Dalmatianism. The beginning of the movement's fall was marked by the loss of power after the elections for the regional parliament (Dalmatian *Sabor*) in 1870, while its final end was enhanced by the loss of the majority in numerous town councils, together with the defeat of the populist Ante Bajamonti at the Split Council elections in 1882.

The third part, *Rasap*, follows the weakening of the autonomist movement, the centre of which was still the town of Zadar, and its digression towards Italian nationalism. Although a gradual identification with Italian nationalism had indeed been obvious already in the previous period, from the time of wars for united Italy, it in fact dominated in this particular period. This identification reached its peak with the young Italian radicals movement in Zadar in the early 20th century. By accepting Italian nationalism, the autonomist movement lost its members who could simply not consent to the

Italian identity, and finally also lost its essence, for it ceased to be a regional movement. In the end, the regional awareness did not turn into the national one, but yielded to Croatian and Italian nationalisms, while the remaining autonomists began to wane amongst Italian irredentists. Their functioning in the service of Italian nationalism, however, had a great impact on international agreements and boundary demarcations after World War I.

Vrandečić's monograph on the autonomist movement of Dalmatia is substantiated on a thorough archival material research. It is written in clear and simple sentences, with a classical drama structure, which makes it attractive not only to specialists but to the wider public as well.

Zdravka Jelaska Marijan

Egon Pelikan: TAJNO DELOVANJE PRIMORSKE DUHOVŠČINE POD FAŠIZMOM. PRIMORSKI KRŠČANSKI SOCIALCI MED VATIKANOM, FAŠISTIČNO ITALIJO IN SLOVENSKO KATOLIŠKO DESNICO – ZGODOVINSKO OZADJE ROMANA KAPLAN MARTIN ČEDERMAC (Secret Activities of the Primorska Clergy under Fascism. Primorska Christian Socials between the Vatican, Fascist Italy and the Slovene Catholic Right Wing – a historical background to the novel Kaplan Martin Čedermac).
Ljubljana, Nova revija, Korenine, 2002, pp. 776

Looking at *Rapallo*, a work of art of the painter Tone Kralj, chosen by assistant professor dr. Egon Pelikan for the cover of his latest book dealing with secret activities of the Primorska clergy in fascist Italy, one cannot but be struck by the tragic extension of oppression of rights of Slovene and Croat minorities captured at the other side of the Rapallo border in the inter-war period. The oppression which is irrepressibly leaking from the Slovene national memory while heirs of black shirts are tailoring historical facts and persistently and aggressively propagating their own "truth" with increasing confidence. Fortunately though, on both Slovene and Italian sides there are scientists courageous enough not to allow themselves to be misled by nationalistically coloured interpretations of the history of Slovene-Italian relations imposed by the daily politics. As for the painful and tragic past co-existence of two neighbouring nations in the heart of Europe, every work dealing with the history of Slovene-Italian relations in an unbiased and scientifically correct way is more than welcome.

One of these certainly is Egon Pelikan's monograph about activities of Christian Socials in Venezia Giulia in the inter-war period. The author, conducting research work within the framework of the Science and Research

Centre in Koper, is one of the leading experts for the history of Slovene political Catholicism. His master's thesis, *Akomodacija ideologije političnega katolicizma na Slovenskem (Accommodation of the Ideology of Political Catholicism in Slovenia)* (Maribor 1997), met with a wide response among the professional public. His doctoral dissertation, too, was awarded the highest grades. It was adapted for publication and resulted in the present book, dealing with activities of the Primorska clergy.

Pelikan's book is made even more interesting by the fact that it contains some first-rate archival sources, which have never been published or used for research before. They had long been hidden from the eyes of historians and many were unaware of their existence. A lion's share of the correspondence and documents that can be found in Pelikan's book come from the archives of dr. Engelbert Besednjak (1894-1968), a leading Christian Social political personality on the Italian side of the Rapallo border. Beyond doubt, Besednjak was a politician of the European format; he also was one of the leaders of the Congress of European Nationalities, where he was working together with his liberal fellow traveller, dr. Josip Wilfan. Pelikan's book dedicates an entire chapter

to these two Primorska politicians and their activities within the organisation of European minorities, thus setting the minority issues into a wider European framework.

After the downfall of the multinational Habsburg Monarchy in 1918, Primorska Slovenes, who used to enjoy relatively favourable conditions for their political and cultural development (at the constitutional level all nationalities living in the Austrian part of the monarchy had equal rights), suddenly found themselves living in a state which, in the name of a supposedly "superior" culture, started to suppress basic rights of the Slovene and Croat minorities. With the ascent of Mussolini fascists the state of affairs deteriorated further: Slovene culture homes were burnt down, newspapers and books were confiscated, the Slovene language disappeared from schools. These, together with other anti-minority acts, became part of everyday life. With the Duce's imperialistic ambitions growing, the level of aggression increased, too. First, with speeches in the parliament of Rome and attempts to intervene by the authorities, Besednjak and Wilfan tried to alleviate the situation the minority was living. However, since the end of the 1920s none of their interventions on "highest positions" bore any results.

In this difficult position, the leadership of the struggle for the preservation of the Slovene identity under the fascist boot was taken over by the Slovene clergy. Other resistance groups existed, too (liberals, TIGR, etc.); nevertheless, the so-called "Secret Christian Social Organisation" was the most efficient and tenacious of all. A lion's share of merit for its efficiency can be awarded to priests who then could lean on a strong network of ecclesiastical institutions. One of numerous reports from the archives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Kingdom of Italy, quoted by Pelikan, states that until the year 1928 Italian authorities in Venezia Giulia dismissed all Slovene officials employed in municipal administration as well as all Slovene judges, and banished or dismissed from 600 to 820 Slovene and Croat teachers! Thus, the whole Slovene lay intelligentsia shrank to approximately 50 lawyers, 15 doctors and a handful of public workers. But at the stronghold of Slovenedom 272 priests remained. In fact, they were the only ones who taught Slovenes to read and write. What fascists were most irritated by was that "the state authority cannot transfer priests, they do not have families and are in this respect financially independent."

Despite the tragic character of the situation, at least some Slovene priests managed to preserve their sense of humour. Described on the basis of police reports found in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Kingdom of Italy, Pelikan's book offers a lot of such instances. Priest Ivan Bidovec, for example, was sentenced to *confino*, or domestic exile: among other things he did, during ecclesiastical ceremonies he afforded

dressing children in white, blue and red clothes, arranging them in such a way to represent the Yugoslav flag. On Shrovetide, on the other hand, he dressed them in fascist "Balilla" uniforms to make them look like chimneysweepers, saying that this was what that uniform was most suitable for, etc.

During the first stages of their struggle for national defence, priests could count on strong support by Primorska bishops, in particular Andrej Karlin, Frančišek B. Sedej and Alojzij Fogar. After the relations between the Vatican and the Italian states warmed, however, these bishops, who had strived to preserve the use of the Slovene language in churches and during catechism classes, found themselves under huge pressure exerted by both Italian authorities and the Vatican hierarchy. Based on very interesting sources, Pelikan offers a detailed analysis of methods used by the Vatican hierarchy for the removal of bishops, who in the eyes of Italian authorities still were seen as "Austriacants". Besednjak's letters clearly evidence the proud posture these last defenders of the right to use Slovene in ecclesiastical life held. Among these the personality standing out most is that of Fogar, bishop of Trieste and Koper. Despite being in fact a Friulian, he was unselfishly fighting for the rights of Slovenes and Croats. Italian authorities were highly irritated by his personnel policy. In the parish of Lindar in the municipality of Pazin, for example, he appointed a retired Croat priest, Filipič, who should have been sent to *confino* to Sardinia. After that, to great anger of fascists, Filipič "ran his parish as if they still were under Austria."

The "adaptation" of standpoints of the Vatican politics, bending to the pressures of the fascist regime regarding the use of the Slovene language in ecclesiastical life, on one hand led to a sense of resignation among Slovene priests in Venezia Giulia, but on the other hand it made their viewpoints grow more radical. In the first years after the annexation to the Italian state, they supported loyalty to the kingdom, but according to Pelikan's findings, in the second half of the 1920s irredentist mentality prevailed. This was realised by their fascist persecutors who adopted a stricter policy against disobedient priests. On the basis of documents, the author of the book lists a number of cases of legal measures taken against priests and laymen belonging to the Secret Christian Social Organisation, which shed a very negative light on the supposed "expellers of barbarians". The book clearly shows who in fact acted as barbarians. Let me just mention the tragic fate of organist and choir-master Lojze Bratuž, loathed by the fascists for educating young Slovene organists and in this way preserving Slovene songs in churches. The punishment for his love for the Slovene language was cruel: Bratuž was dying in terrible pain for several weeks of poisoning with waste motor oil he had to drink on order of the fascists!

Despite torture and cruel methods of interrogation,

Italian police failed in the attempts to break the Secret Christian Social Organisation, Pelikan found out. Reasons for their failure can be traced in the ignorance of foreign languages, a poor knowledge of Slovene mentality, superficiality, and centralised police administration. The author quotes that some documents of Italian agents even denoted Besednjak and Wilfan as members of the Slovak (!) minority.

In his book, Pelikan invites us to travel into the backstage of the policy of the Yugoslav state towards the Slovene and Croat minorities in Italy. Despite antagonisms within the state of Karadjordjevići, Primorska Slovenes saw it as "the only possibility for the annexation to the motherland". The Italian state, of course, played the card of national contrasts in the multinational Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which to a significant extent facilitated its policy of penetration into the Balkans. For this reason especially, the Slovene minority in Italy "emphasised Yugoslav unity", Pelikan found out. In relation to Italy, Yugoslavia was politically and economically in a subordinate position. That is why, when minority protection was discussed, its diplomats kept returning from Rome empty-handed. It is true, however, that at least in terms of financial means the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was quite generous to the minority, which had the right to draw important financial means from special Belgrade funds.

Pelikan's book clearly shows the important role Besednjak held on the Belgrade court, too. King Aleksandar deeply trusted him and it also seems he would take into consideration advice given to him by this leading personality of Primorska Christian Socials. Besednjak often acted as the intermediary between the monarch and the leader of the Slovene People's Party, dr. Anton Korošec. This is witnessed by highly interesting documents the author included at the end of the book. Among these, there are Besednjak's reports of visits of Korošec on the island of Hvar, in a time when the initiative for the establishment of a state-wide Yugoslav Radical Union, which after coming into power would start the democratisation process and reorganisation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was taking off. Apart from these, Pelikan's book offers numerous notes, drawing attention to differences between the profile of catholic politicians in terms of their ideas and politics on both sides of the Rapallo border.

During the presentation of his book at the Nova revija Club, the author pointed out the fortune he had to have had access to Besednjak's archives. He added that anyone having such rich sources at his disposal could write a nice story. This statement bears witness to the modesty of the author. After reading this voluminous, interesting and instructive book we need to say we were the lucky ones because these rich archival materials came into the hands of – Egon Pelikan.

Andrej Rahten

Gianni Oliva: FOIBE. LE STRAGI NEGATE DEGLI ITALIANI DELLA VENEZIA GIULIA E DELL'ISTRIA.
Milano, Mondadori, 2002, pp. 206

Gianni Oliva, docente presso la Scuola d'applicazione d'Arma di Torino e storico di successo, è solo l'ultimo (per ora) di una lunga serie di autori, più o meno autorevoli (e Oliva appartiene a quelli più autorevoli) che si sono cimentati con il tema, divenuto oramai di moda, delle c.d. foibe. Per Oliva non è questo il primo contatto con il tema in questione, visto che gli ha già dedicato ampio spazio nel suo "La resa dei conti", in cui si occupa delle esecuzioni (più o meno sommarie) di fascisti avvenute in Italia alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale. Il libro che abbiamo ora di fronte è in pratica una riproposizione ampliata di tesi ed argomenti già presenti nel libro dedicato al *reddes rationem* del 1945.

Oliva affronta la questione delle esecuzioni avvenute nella Venezia Giulia dopo l'8 settembre del 1943 e soprattutto dopo la fine della guerra dando ampio spazio alle vicende storiche antecedenti le foibe, a cui sono dedicati ben quattro dei sette capitoli del libro. Vengono così esaminate in successione la storia della Venezia Giulia nell'epoca della prima annessione all'Italia e del-

l'occupazione della Jugoslavia, l'occupazione nazista, i problematici rapporti tra il movimento di liberazione sloveno e croato e quello italiano dopo il settembre del 1943 e la "corsa per Trieste" scatenatasi nella fase finale della guerra tra esercito partigiano jugoslavo e anglo-americani. Al tema centrale sono dedicati due soli capitoli, il primo, in cui vengono presi in esame i 40 giorni di amministrazione jugoslava di Trieste, ed il terzo, in cui sono invece esaminati gli eccidi avvenuti in Istria subito dopo l'8. 9. 1943. L'ultimo capitolo, dedicato in gran parte al contesto internazionale in cui si inseriva la "questione di Trieste" e alle caratteristiche dell'amministrazione jugoslava di Trieste, riprende solo in parte il tema degli arresti, delle deportazioni e delle esecuzioni avvenute a Trieste e Gorizia nei famosi 40 giorni.

Oliva non apporta alcuna novità sostanziale a quanto già noto sul tema specifico delle foibe, limitandosi a una interpretazione di dati noti da ormai troppi anni. La cosa più positiva del suo libro è il fatto che presenta – probabilmente si tratta del primo caso in cui a farlo è uno storico i cui testi hanno una diffusione molto ampia anche al di fuori della cerchia degli specialisti – la storia della Venezia Giulia nella sua interezza, senza omissioni o silenzi di rilievo. E tuttavia nel farlo l'autore non ha saputo liberarsi da parametri interpretativi che paiono ormai stereotipati. La storia della Venezia Giulia viene infatti da un lato interpretata come la storia di uno scontro nazionale. Tanto che nonostante la premessa, in cui afferma che le esecuzioni non furono il risultato di intenti genocidi dei "titini" nei confronti degli italiani, nel prosieguo del testo (e nel sottotitolo del libro) Oliva definisce invece costantemente queste come uccisione di massa di italiani. Senza mai spiegare chi fossero questi italiani e cosa avessero fatto per divenire alla fine della guerra vittime della resa dei conti. Oliva non fa quindi che continuare una ormai lunga tradizione che si caratterizza per le generalizzazioni che compie e per il porre l'accento su una sola (e quella più facilmente rilevabile) delle caratteristiche che accomunavano le vittime, la loro nazionalità. Cosa che è indubbiamente molto funzionale per presentare quanto accadde come la conseguenza degli opposti ma equivalenti nazionalismi (quello italiano e quello "slavo"), mentre non lo è ai fini di una ricerca seria ed approfondita, per la quale sarebbe indispensabile, prima di trarre delle conclusioni, esaminare i singoli casi e metterne in luce motivi e cause.

Oliva considera i popoli come una entità monolitica, priva di stratificazioni e differenze sociali, un'entità che agisce e reagisce unitariamente ed univocamente, in cui le uniche differenze sono quelle dovute alle diverse scelte ideologiche dei singoli. Quella che ci viene così presentata è una sorta di storia metafisica in cui gli avvenimenti nascono da idee presenti immanentemente negli uomini. Ma la sua interpretazione della storia si inserisce anche nel quadro degli sforzi volti a ravvivare

il sentimento nazionale degli italiani e l'idea del destino comune della nazione italiana, avviati anni addietro su iniziativa di determinati ambienti politici (citerò per tutti il senatore Violante), ai quali si sono però ben presto adeguati e aggregati anche diversi storici italiani. Oliva è indubbiamente uno di questi, e d'altronde è lui stesso a sottolineare che lo scopo del suo libro è quello di contribuire a creare una "memoria storica comune" per il popolo italiano.

L'altro stereotipo su cui Oliva costruisce la sua ricostruzione storica è quello che vede la guerra come scontro in cui sono coinvolti due regimi – quello nazista e/o fascista e quello comunista – con principi e prassi egualmente totalitari e antidemocratici, e un terzo attore, gli Alleati Occidentali e la "resistenza democratica", immacolatamente democratici tanto nei fini che nei mezzi. Si tratta di una interpretazione alla moda, che però sorvola su alcuni fatti. In primo luogo che fascismo e nazismo furono in buona parte delle creature della "democrazia reale" e del conservatorismo dell'epoca seguente alla prima guerra mondiale, e non dei fenomeni autogenerati come risultato dell'emergere degli aspetti più misteriosi e orrendi dell'umanità. Tanto il fascismo che il nazismo arrivarono al potere con il sostegno della casta militare, degli ambienti più importanti del mondo economico e dei politici liberali e conservatori e poterono a lungo contare sull'appoggio di politici come Churchill, che apprezzava enormemente Mussolini ed il fascismo perché avevano salvato l'Italia dal bolscevismo. Vorrei ricordare che d'altra parte i fascisti vennero utilizzati con una simile funzione anche negli anni seguenti al 1945. Ma Oliva dimentica anche che il Governo Militare Alleato, sorta di incarnazione dei valori e dei principi della democrazia, che amministrò Trieste fino al 1954, era una autorità militare senza alcuna legittimazione democratica. Come dimentica che nella lotta per la fissazione dei nuovi assetti politici e sociali del dopoguerra proprio nessuna delle parti in lotta si fece scrupoli nello scegliere i mezzi da utilizzare per raggiungere i propri fini. E' che i fini dichiarati nella propaganda non possono essere presi come quelli reali. Come dimostra il caso della Grecia, dove per impedire la presa del potere dell'ELAS i britannici (e successivamente gli statunitensi) non esitarono a intervenire militarmente e ad avere come alleati gli ex collaborazionisti. In questi casi Oliva ci fornisce invece una versione abbellita dei fatti, sostenendo che i britannici intervennero solo per impedire lo scoppio della guerra civile (che si sviluppò però a pieno proprio in seguito al loro intervento) e per salvaguardare la democrazia (che però evidentemente non contemplava la possibilità di una salita al potere della sinistra). Anche le trame del capo del governo italiano Bonomi e dell'ammiraglio De Courten per giungere ad un'alleanza tra osovani e repubblicani in funzione anti-"slavo-comunista" per Oliva non avrebbe che marginalmente

lambito le formazioni fasciste e non avrebbe avuto alcuna realizzazione pratica. Il quadro generale disegnato da Oliva è così quello di "titini" per i quali antidemocraticità e ferocia sarebbero elementi innati e caratterizzanti, mentre nel caso degli anglo-americani e dei "democratici" italiani si tratterebbe di singoli episodi, che non ne inficiano l'essenza democratica.

Traspare però anche un altro stereotipo, quello dei "titini", ovvero dei partigiani di Tito, stranieri a Trieste, estranei che avrebbero infranto e offeso la civiltà della città italiana. E dimentica che tra i "titini" e gli "jugoslavi" che avrebbero "occupato" Trieste erano molti i triestini, tanto di nazionalità slovena che italiana. Evidentemente per Oliva non basta essere nati e cresciuti a Trieste per essere considerati triestini. Come non è sufficiente, se si è scelto di combattere nelle formazioni "titine", essere di madrelingua italiana ed essere nati in qualche località dell'Italia meridionale per poter essere considerati italiani. Tanto più poi se si è anche stati sostenitori dell'annessione di Trieste alla Jugoslavia.

A quanto pare anche Oliva è stato colpito dalla malattia tanto diffusa tra la piccola borghesia ed i ceti intellettuali italiani di Trieste: la convinzione che la città si identifichi con loro e con i loro valori e che tutto ciò che si discosta da tali valori e dal loro tipo di civiltà è barbaro ed estraneo alla città. Come mi pare evidente che anche Oliva, come tanti altri storici italiani, ha grosse difficoltà a definire gli italiani. Diventa ormai indispensabile che lui ed i suoi colleghi ci spieghino una volta per tutte quali siano le caratteristiche che deve possedere il singolo per poter essere incluso tra gli italiani, o tra coloro che questi storici amano definire "di sentimenti italiani".

Visto il tipo di impostazione non sorprendono alcune perle presenti nel libro. La prima riguarda la quantificazione del fenomeno delle esecuzioni. Dopo aver affermato che non è possibile giungere a dati certi, l'Oliva pone sullo stesso piano le cifre sostenute dagli ambienti delle organizzazioni dei profughi e del collaborazionismo istriano e quella di circa 5.000 persone uccise, che egli stesso afferma essere la cifra ritenuta più attendibile tanto dagli storici sloveni che da quelli italiani. Nonostante questa affermazione egli non la fa propria, ma afferma del tutto arbitrariamente che la cifra più probabile è quella di circa 10.000 vittime. Egualmente arbitrarie sono anche le affermazioni di Oliva riguardo all'esodo dall'Istria e dalla Dalmazia. In base a cosa afferma che si è trattato di una espulsione? Su quali dati basa l'affermazione che i profughi furono circa 300.000? E da dove gli deriva la certezza che si trattasse esclusivamente di italiani?

Anche la ripetuta affermazione che gli jugoslavi avrebbero arrestato ed eliminato anche antifascisti e addirittura comunisti italiani non è sostenuta da nessun dato quantitativo del fenomeno. Oliva si limita a utilizzare espressioni generiche come "molti" e "un numero

non indifferente", che non dicono nulla di preciso, lasciano però intendere molto, anche che la gran parte delle persone scomparse appartenessero a queste due categorie particolari. In questi casi l'Oliva ha semplicemente attribuito carattere di scientificità alle tesi e ai dati sostenuti dagli ambienti delle organizzazioni dei profughi, e li ha fatti propri per inserirli nel quadro della costruzione della nuova storia nazionale italiana.

Un simile approccio può indubbiamente essere utile alla fondazione di storie nazionali e al rafforzamento del mito dell'Occidente portatore esclusivo di civiltà e libertà. Ma l'ottica degli interessi nazionali (e del nazionalismo) non è però sufficiente per una comprensione piena della storia, perché non può spiegare p. es. il fatto che sloveni, italiani e croati si trovarono a combattere nelle fila di tutte le parti in lotta, tanto dalla parte dei nazifascisti che dei "titini" e degli Alleati. Come l'attribuire all'Occidente il monopolio esclusivo della democrazia e della bontà di propositi non consente di chiarire perché fu proprio questo stesso Occidente ad essere la culla di fascismo e nazismo.

Sandi Volk

Matjaž Klemenčič – Milica Trebše-Štolfa (eds):
SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO – ZBORNIK OB 50.
LETNICE SLOVENSKE IZSELJENSKE MATICE (*Slovene*
Emigration - the booklet published at the 50th
anniversary of the Slovene Emigration Society).
Ljubljana, Združenje Slovenska izseljenska matica,
2001, pp. 375

The "Slovene Emigration" booklet was published at the 50th anniversary of the Slovene Emigration Society towards the end of 2001. It was edited by Milica Trebše Štolfa MSc (as chief editor) and Matjaž Klemenčič PhD (as executive editor). The booklet covers 375 pages and was published with the aid of the Slovene Ministry of Culture. The prefatory part of the booklet consists, apart from the accompanying text contributed by Milan Kučan, President of the Republic of Slovenia, of the introductory thoughts by Milica Trebše Štolfa, President of the Slovene Emigration Society, and the Editorial, in which the booklet's contents are presented. Namely, on the occasion of the Society's important anniversary the booklet depicts, in detail, not only the work carried out so far and the institutions taking part, but the entire Slovene emigration in general, i.e. the attitude of Slovene emigrants towards their original homeland, the specificity of their linguistic expression, and their creations in the field of culture. Apart from it, the numerous experts for the emigration issues attempt to estimate the number of Slovene communities in the world and to present, in

some greater detail, individual Slovene entities on separate continents, from North and South Americas to Australia, from Western Europe to the countries in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is interesting that not only Slovene experts participate in the booklet with their contributions, but the emigrants themselves, with a number of contributed texts. In the first, general part, the booklet consists of ten contributions, while in the second part, in which Slovenes across the entire world are presented in detail, we can read another thirteen texts by various authors. The booklet concludes with a documentary part, in which a selected bibliography of the Slovene emigrants is presented.

Part 1 of the booklet embraces the texts contributed by Janez Rogelj (*Petdeset let slovenske izseljenske matice / Fifty Years of the Slovene Emigration Society*), Matjaž Klemenčič (*Odnos slovenskih izseljencev do stare domovine / Attitude of the Slovene Emigrants Towards Their Original Homeland*), Nada Šabec (*Jezik slovenskih izseljencev / The Language of Slovene Emigrants*), Janja Žitnik (*Književnost slovenskih izseljencev / The Literature of Slovene Emigrants*), Irene Mislej (*Pregled slovenskih izseljenih likovnih ustvarjalcev / An*

Overview of the Slovene Emigrated Fine Artists), Milica Trebše Štolfa (*Arhivsko gradivo je narodov spomin / Archival Material is a Nation's Memory*), Jože Prešeren (*Slovenske sledi v svetu / Slovene Tracks Left in the World*), Bogdan Kolar (*Mesto Cerkev med Slovenci po svetu in njen prispevek za ohranjanje narodnosti / Position of the Church Amongst the Slovenes across the World and its Contribution Towards the Preservation of their National Identity*), Mihael Kuzmič (*Slovenski protestanti in izseljenstvo / Slovene Protestants and Emigration*) and Aleksej Kalc (*Izseljevanje z zahodnega roba slovenskega etničnega prostora / Emigration From the Western Edge of the Slovene Ethnic Territory*).

Part 2 of the booklet is arranged regionally: 6 texts deal with the issues concerning the Slovenes in North America, two with the emigrants in South America, three with those in Australia, two with the Slovenes in Western Europe, and four with the Slovenes living in the successor-states of the former Yugoslavia. In greater detail, the following topics are dealt with in this part of the booklet: migration of the Slovenes to North America (Marjan Drnovšek), Slovene communities and organised forms of emigration in the States (Matjaž Klemenčič), Slovene national homes in the States (Joseph Valenčič), social-cultural creations by the Slovene emigrants to Canada (Mirko Jurak), Slovene compatriots and their organisations in Canada (Milica Trebše Štolfa), emigration as an economic factor: the case of the Canadian Slovenes (Cvetka Kocjančič), emigrants to South America (Irene Mislej), Slovene political emigration in Argentina (Zvone Žigon), Slovene settlers in Australia (Breda Čebulj Sajko), Slovene national homes (Jože Prešeren), literary creations by the Australian Slovenes (Igor Maver), Slovene emigrants to Western Europe before the end of World War II (Marjan Drnovšek), Slovene emigrants to Western Europe after World War II (Jernej Zupančič), Slovenes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Marija Dolinšek Divčič), Slovenes in Croatia (Darko Šonc), Slovenes in Serbia (Franc Cevc) and Slovenes in Macedonia (Amalija Jovanović).

In view of the high number of authors, their different places of residence, their standpoints and attitudes towards the dealt with issues, the structure of separate contributions is fairly diverse which, however, presents no serious problems to the reader. We could even say that the heterogeneousness of the booklet as far as its contents and style are concerned is sooner a quality than a deficiency, for in this way it gives us an insight into an exceptional complexity of views on the emigration issues. Apart from this, the two editors made sure that all the articles were equipped with bibliography, with the aid of which a researcher or all those interested in the dealt with subjects can further improve their knowledge. Namely, one of the great advantage of the booklet lies in the fact that in one place it gathered numerous pieces of information on the emigration issues

and that at the same time it presents the results gained so far in a clear manner, which makes them accessible even to a wider circle of readers, e.g. students or journalists as well as to the lay public facing the complexities of the Slovene emigration or the Slovenes in the world in general for the first time. Great aids in this respect are numerous photographs, index of authors, and especially the concluding documentary part with the stated basic bibliographies, periodicals and more important publications. In the very selected bibliography, however, it would be advisable to do away with certain deficiencies, which derive from the fact that only those works were taken into consideration in the booklet, which had been published in the form of books or monographs. Some minor faults can also be detected in the texts themselves, such as the one in the table on p. 122 in which the estimates of the total number of Slovene emigrants are gathered (for Argentina, the number 1550 is stated, which is of course not in line with the actual situation and is altering the total number of Slovenes across the world). In the same table, we also cannot find a datum for the number of estimated emigrants in Italy, which is otherwise stated elsewhere in the booklet.

As a whole, the booklet no doubt deserves high marks, for it has filled the gap in the Slovene journalism covering this complex issue. It has not merely enumerated the many interesting facts associated with the Slovenes across the world but has called our attention to the numerous open questions concerning the Slovene emigration and further perspectives of the Slovene communities outside the Republic of Slovenia. Here the Slovene researchers, as well as the Slovene state itself, will have to devote, in contrast to the past when mostly emotional relations prevailed in relations with emigrants, much greater attention to the emigrants' situation, social status, linguistic practices, the rate of integration with the majority society, relationship with the original environment and, last but not least, to the additional opportunities of the Slovene state to suitably promote, through its very emigrants, its culture and at the same time to associate more closely, socially and economically, with the countries in which these communities are active. Within this framework we are convinced that the Slovene Emigration Society will continue to play an important part in retaining close relations between Slovene emigrants and their native soil.

Milan Bufon

Rada Cossutta: NAREČNA PODOBA KRIŽA PRI TRSTU (Dialectal Profile of Križ near Trieste).

Knjižnica Annales, 25. Koper, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko – Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Republike Slovenije Koper, 2001, pp. 127

Rada Košuta (Cossutta), a Trieste Slovene, is a researcher of Slavic studies at the School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators in Trieste. She has been co-operating with SRC Koper in the field of dialectology for several years. After obtaining the high school certificate of classical lyceum in Trieste, she continued her studies at the Faculty of Arts, where she graduated from classical philology. She completed her master's and doctoral theses, dealing with Slovene dialectology, at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana under the mentorship of Professor Tine Logar. These provided an excellent starting point for dialectological research in linguistically diverse territories such as Slovene Istria and bordering areas. Within the framework of dialectological research her main interest lies in so-called specialised terminologies (e.g. viticulture, agriculture, animal husbandry, microtoponyms, oleoculture, etc.). For the oldest linguistic layers they usually hide, these are of undisputed importance for linguistics. She is also a researcher of Romance and Germanic loan words in Slovene vernaculars in the light

of centuries-long intertwining between the Romance, Germanic and Slavic worlds. Being a former student of Mario Doria and due to her co-operation with Franco Crevatin, she is very familiar with etymology, which is regularly included in her dialectological research. It should be mentioned that dr. Košuta is a very dedicated, qualified and reliable field investigator, by all means *conditio sin qua non* for any good dialectologist.

Since her doctoral dissertation "Poljedelska in vinogradniška terminologija v govorih slovenske Istre" (*Agricultural and Viticultural Terminology in the Dialects of Slovene Istria*) (Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana 1994), she has been involved in the research of Istrian Slovene vernaculars. Her main interest lies in the vocabulary of these vernaculars, lying on the meeting point of the Romance and Slavic worlds, and therefore exposed to mutual interference. The first phase of her research work consists of field investigation. On the basis of a special questionnaire, she has been collecting Istrian Slovene dialectological materials for several years. So far, also with assistance of her students, she has researched 21 localities in Slovene Istria (Malija, Padna, Krkavče, Gažon, Šmarje, Koštabona, Pomjan, Boršt, Marežige, Trebeše, Belvedur, Pregara, Sočerga, Movraž, Osp, Dekani, Črni Kal, Potok, Kubed, Hrastovlje, Gračišče). All materials were tape recorded and later transcribed in accordance with the rules of the Slovene phonetic script. As a result, the dialectological lexical atlas of Slovene Istrian speech, the SDLA-Kp, available on CD, has been published.

Rada Košuta is an acknowledged dialectologist in Slavic and Romance linguistic circles in Slovenia and abroad (Italy, Austria, Hungary, Croatia). She regularly participates in Slovene as well as foreign meetings and congresses on Slavic and Romance studies. Her scientific and professional articles have been published by renowned scientific and professional journals. On this occasion, let me mention two linguistic atlases, the "Slovenski dialektološki atlas tržaške pokrajine" (*Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of the Trieste Province*) (SDLA-Ts, 1987) and the above-mentioned "Slovenski dialektološki atlas koprške pokrajine" (*Slovene Dialectological Lexical Atlas of the Koper Province*) (SDLA-Kp, 2001). Both were published in Trieste and may represent her work and interests in the best possible way. She has been a valuable member of the linguistic project group within SRC Koper. *Dialectal Profile of Križ near Trieste* is a result of her research within the project "Etimološko-frazeološke raziskave slovenskih istrskih govorov" (*Etymological-Phraseological Research of Slovene Istrian Vernaculars*).

The book is divided into two main parts. The first, the most comprehensive part, based on the materials collected by the author, is a description of the Križ speech. It consists of grammar with phonetics and morphology, without syntax. The grammar is analysed in accordance

with the most recent findings of linguistics. All statements are supported by examples recorded by the author during field investigation. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that Križ is Košuta's native village and the Križ speech her mother idiom, which adds additional value to the authenticity of her treatise. In the conclusion of the presentation of the Križ speech a phonetic transcription of a text, as told by Mirko Košuta, and a filled in SLA questionnaire, the basis for this treatise, can be found.

The second part consists of two supplements, which round up the main essence of the book in an excellent way. These supplements, too, are based on field investigation carried out by the author. The first supplement, "Kriška ledinska imena" (*Microtoponyms in Križ*), deals with the toponymy of a specific Slovene speaking area (the village of Križ). The materials have been etymologically analysed, and what bears extreme importance for Slovene national heritage, they show evident prevalence of local, that is Slavonic, microtoponyms, which were preserved in the Križ speech despite centuries-long Romance influences - Romance names account for one third only. The second supplement, "Kriška hišna imena" (*House Names in Križ*), discusses approximately 100 terms analysed from the morphological, etymological, and lexicological points of view. The etymological analysis reveals a multi-layered character of the Križ speech, while the vocabulary analysis offers an insight into the development of the culture of this tiny piece of Slovene territory through Romance and Germanic influences - influences at all levels, from cultural to linguistic. It should be emphasised that besides their etymological value both supplements also carry cultural value; for example, they unveil objects and concepts no longer used, and microtoponyms especially reflect numerous elements of the structure of the old-time village, etc.

This book shall fill up the gap felt in the research of Slovene Istrian and particularly those vernaculars spoken by the Slovene speaking communities outside Slovenia. Few works only dealing with this topic have been published so far; apart from the above stated Košuta's atlases, two titles should be mentioned: the "Narečni slovar govora Svetega Antona pri Kopru" (*Dialectological Dictionary of the Sveti Anton near Koper Speech*), unfortunately written in a very unprofessional way, by Dušan Jakomin, and "Geografska imena v severozahodni Istri" (*Toponyms in North-Western Istria*) by Julij Titl (published in the same collection, Library Annales).

Slovene Istrian vernaculars and those spoken by Slovene speaking communities abroad have therefore been neglected by modern research of Slovene studies. What can be found in so-called reference books (textbooks, encyclopaedias, etc.) is based on research carried out in the first half of the 20th century. In our opinion, though, borders between Istrian Slovene and Slovene vernaculars spoken in Italy should be drawn anew. And, what is most important, all of these vernaculars should be dealt

with together, as an inseparable unit. This way only can we reach knowledge, which will allow us to draw new, more correct and accurate borders. They need to be, more accurately than up to now, dealt with within the framework of both Romance and Slavonic neighbouring vernaculars. Neighbouring non-related idioms are the ones which will allow us to identify loan words belonging to older linguistic layers, which were not preserved in the vernacular that loaned them - of course this is valid for research in the opposite direction, too. Rada Košuta wrote her book in accordance with all criteria described above. Her work, together with the ones that still need to be written and published, will enable us to reach the aim set at SRC Koper years ago: a more correct and accurate definition of dialectal borders of the Slovene linguistic territory in Istria and Italy, the need for which has been present for a long time now. More research will be needed, vernaculars of all Istrian villages as well as those on the other side of the border have to be recorded and analysed. Times of being unprofessional in dialectology have passed. The book in our hands is the first one to deal with a vernacular spoken by a Slovene speaking community in Italy in a modern and completely scientific way.

In conclusion, dr. Košuta's monograph is an extremely valuable scientific work, which bears, as I said before, a high cultural value. Today, in the atmosphere of total globalisation, big danger is lurking at so-called minor languages or actually languages of "minor nations" - that they will simply disappear in the oceans of universal Americanisation. A fate even crueller is awaiting dialects, let alone Slovene vernaculars in Italy, which have been drowning in the sea of the Romance culture and world for centuries. This book might represent a contribution to the preservation of a Slovene vernacular spoken in a small village on the other side of the border. However, if despite this it vanishes in inevitable complete globalisation, at least we will have evidence of its existence, and not only that, we will have its integral portrait from the end of the 20th century!

Goran Filipi

BUZETSKI ZBORNIK 28 (28th volume of Buzet Booklet). Buzet, Katedra Čakavskog sabora Buzet, Pučko otvoreno učilište "Augustin Vivoda" Buzet, "Josip Turčinović" d.o.o. Pazin, 2002, pp. 486

This year (2002), the 28th volume of Buzetski zbornik has been published. The texts, arranged in seven chapters, were contributed by forty authors.

The Buzet area is a place of inexhaustible investigatory opportunities, believes Klara Matijašić – Buršić

PhD, who has been visiting the area, as an archaeologist, for a number of years, as demonstrated in her contribution Toponymy of the Buzet Area. Prof. Elena Grah, on the other hand, wrote about phonological characteristics of the local idiom in the village of Krbavčiči. The contents are dedicated to the analysis of the village's phonological characteristics: accentuation, vocalism and consonantism. The author initially deals with accentuation. The accentuation structure of this idiom has two units, the short-descending and long-descending accents, with no unaccentuated lengths.

Within the vocal inventory framework she analyses the point of realisation of all ten units, i.e. of vowel **i**, closed **e**, ordinary **e**, open **e**, vowel **a**, closed **a**, ordinary and closed vowel **o**, vowel **u** and reduced vowel which has, in this idiom, the status of a vowel as well. She concludes the presentation of phonological characteristics by analysing the consonant inventory and the consonant groups.

In the conclusions, the author repeats the basic theses by confirming the affiliation of this idiom to the *čakavski* dialect.

In the end the author presents a list of reflexes of the 33rd letter in the Glagolitic alphabet in the root and grammatical morphemes with examples that confirm them.

The phrases of the Buzet idioms are presented by Prof. Nataša Vivoda.

Prof. Vivoda deals with the phrases (as constant expressions entering the vocabulary in a unified and unchanged form) most often used in the Buzet idioms. Sixty phrases are presented, although the so-called phrases of comparing type predominate in the Buzet idioms.

In the text entitled "Stjepan Konzul in the Croatist research of the 20th century", Alojz Jembrih chronologically presents the works of various Slavists / Croatists and historians dealing with Stjepan Konzul. Within the framework of a wider spectre of bibliographic units, the author demonstrates how Konzul's work had been in the centre of scientific research as early as in the 17th century as well as in the ensuing periods until the end of the 20th century.

Konzul's work in Urach, as of translator of books into Croatian language, printed in the Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, found its place in the history of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets and of Croatian language, in the history of the Bible translating and in the history of typography and literature of Croatia as well as Gradišće. All this demonstrates to what extent Stjepan Konzul of Buzet was (and will be) present in the Croatist research, for in spite of all the investigations carried out so far there is still much to be studied and written about him.

On the basis of archival material and registers of the town of Pula, Slaven Bertoša PhD writes about surnames

of the people settling in Pula during the 17th and 19th centuries. This was the time of direct immigration of the people from Buzet, Roč, Lupoglav and Brgradac.

The Čakavski parliament in Buzet made a decision to reprint, at the 450th anniversary of Šimun Greblo's death, the book entitled *Šimun Greblo and His Interpretation of Christ's Suffering* (1493.)

The book's introduction and transliteration was written by Antonija Zaradija Kiš PhD, who also prepared the annex *Šimun Greblo 450 Years After*.

Msgr. Radovan Oštrič writes about the frescoes restored in the church of St. Roque at Roč. The new discoveries made at the end of the restoration throw some new light on the church's history. By discovering the scene of St. Peter's crucifixion it was confirmed that the church was once dedicated to this disciple. The date when the name of the church was changed to St. Roque is not known. In 1580, Valier wrote that this was St. Peter's church. The damages on the frescoes and the church itself were made in the early 15th century (1412), when the old town walls were pulled down.

As to a source for the economic history of Roč, Prof. Dražen Vlahov resorted to the ledger of the Brotherhood of St. Bartholomew at Roč covering the period from 1523 to 1611.

There follow the texts Material of the Buzet Council

at DA Rijeka by Prof. Zadarka Greblo, Preservation of traditional values around Hum by Gordana Čalić Šverko, BSc in Sociology, Novelettes about Mali Mlun by Denis Jerman, BSc in Law, and About the meetings in Buzet by Prof. Josip Šipuš.

Vojmil Prodan writes about the Čiritež valley spreading on some 106 ha. Due to the specific structure of the ground and the numerous springs, the terrain is marshy and a few brickworks were functioning in this area in the previous century. Apart from waters, the author describes all the settlements of the valley.

In the Pastorals written upon the speech made during Martinmas, Ivan Draščić Beli Mate recollects his childhood when he was listening, apart from tending a flock, to numerous stories about the past. The landscape was richer then due to the lively life in pastures and along them. According to the tradition, it was also the best time for farm jobs when, for example, you were not allowed to disturb the vine for about a week from St. Mary Carmella (mid July) until St. Mary Magdalene, when grapes were supposed to "be asleep".

The second chapter, entitled From the Kras, begins with the contribution written by Josip Žmak MSc: Čićarija and its mountains.

Čićarija is a component part of the Istrian Peninsula. It spreads from Kozina to Poklon at a length of some 44 km, and from Dolenja vas to Poljane at a width of about 12 km. It covers 528 km² and its average altitude is 800 m. The area encloses 35 inhabited villages or settlements, 24 of which belong to the Republic of Croatia and 11 to the Republic of Slovenia. The highest number of inhabitants was registered in 1910, i.e. 11,709: 8,207 or 70% in Croatian villages, and 3,502 or 30% in the Slovene part of Čićarija. Today, the area is populated by 2,254 inhabitants: 1,377 or 61% of them live in its Croatian part and 877 or 39% in its Slovene part.

The basic line of production in Čićarija used to be (and partly still is) stockbreeding, forestry, agriculture, and trade (masonry, joinery, lime-making, etc.). At the time when the area was populated by the greatest number of inhabitants, some 15,000 sheep and 3,500 heads of cattle were kept. Today these numbers are about a hundred times lower.

The area from Poklon to Kozina boasts 45 peaks with more than 1,000 m a.s.l., the highest among them being Planik (1.272 m).

All Čićarija villages have asphalted access roads, electric power, telephone and (most of them) drinking water.

The same author, Josip Žmak, writes about the old traditions still practised in the village of Podgače, i.e.: 1. *Veje* – gathering of leaves in the autumn; 2. *Čreda* – collective pasture; 3. *Komuščina* – various communal maintenance jobs; 4. *Kolejani* – carol-singing, and 5. *Kondenjika* – a play performed during Shrovetide. Three of the stated five traditions have economic-communal

features, while the remaining two have been practised for pleasure. Of a special interest is the unique *Kondenjika*, which has always been performed on Shrove Tuesdays. Due to the great reduction in the number of inhabitants and therefore in the economic activities, however, only one of the described traditions has survived in the village, i.e. *Komuščina*, while all the rest have remained only in the memory of the older villagers.

About the first Istrian ethnologist, Prof. Jakov Mikac, born in 1892 at Brest below Žbevnica, the collector of material dealing with folk life and tradition, and the author of the book about traditional culture, writes Jelka Radauš Ribarić PhD.

In his text entitled Toponyms of the southern part of Čićarija, Just Ivetac, a journalist and publicist from Pula, deals for the very first time with the toponomastics of this particular area. Namely, he has recorded the names of the mountains, valleys and villages of this mountainous area of Istria, hoping to discover their roots in the linguistic, historical and geographical contexts. In his research, during which he resorted to until now fairly modest toponomastic records about Čićarija, particularly comparative linguistic research into the language of its inhabitants, the author arrived at some interesting results, by discovering the roots of a number of names of mountains, valleys and villages. Apart from it, he established that the majority of the mountains' names are of Slavic as well as Pan-Slavic origin. This is in the first place indicated by the name Pleševica or Plešivica, the mountain with its namesakes in a very wide area, from the Adriatic to the Ural Mountains.

The chapter entitled Literary Supplements includes works in prose by Fedor Putinja, Marin Jedrejčič and Miro Rušnjak and poems by Mirna Bratulić, Marija Ribarić, Snježana Markežić, Daniel Sirotić and Bella Rupena.

In Buzetski zbornik, texts dealing with the history of school education in the Buzet area and Istria in general are published periodically. As far as the Buzet school is concerned, the position of its headmaster has been held the longest by Vinko Šepić (1903-1923), Božo Jakovljević and Ivica Totman. Vinko Šepić was also an active social worker, resisting the Croatian and Slovene school

education being deprived of their national rights. At the time when Croatian schools were left without textbooks, he edited the journal for children Naša nada (Our Hope), published in 1921 in Trieste.

Mirjana Blažević lists numerous teachers employed by Buzet Primary School after World War II.

Some cultural manifestations are described by: Gordana Čalić Šverko, Saša Nikolić, Kristina Pavletić and Siniša Žulić. Buzetski zbornik regularly presents reviews of the published numbers of Annales; in the present Booklet, Nos. 23, 24, 25 and 26 of this Koper journal are presented.

In the supplement dealing with sports, Siniša Žulić writes about motor racing, which has been for more than 20 years held at the foot of Buzet. The author looks back at the two decades long tradition of the oldest hill-climbing race in Croatia, which succeeded in attracting the attention of not only the locals but of entire Croatia. This reminiscence is partly due to the many successes of the Buzet motor racers on the tracks of the former and the present-day state.

The same author also presents a short review of the most important sports events in 2001, with special emphasis on the great success achieved by the Buzet bowlers and taekwondist at various national and international championships.

Of the beginnings of the Buzet ladies' handball reminds us Klaudio Marinac who writes that ladies began to play this game in the same year as men, i.e. at Buzet Primary School, as far as ladies are concerned.

As historical material, the programmes of Buzet scientific meetings (called The Buzet Days), organised by the town for the 32nd year running, are published in Chapter VII. In the Buzet Booklets published so far, the programmes of 20 meetings have been presented, while this particular issue includes the programmes of the meetings to be held in the ensuing years.

The Chief and the Executive Editor of the newest Buzet yearbook is Božo Jakovljević, while the members of its Editorial Board are (recently deceased) Antun Hek from Pazin and Tanja Perić Polonijo from Zagreb.

Božo Jakovljević